Lives, Letters, Bodies: John Locke's medical interactions contextualised

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Abstract

This study offers a close, interdisciplinary reading of several specific instances in which health and sickness were discussed or considered by Locke and his contemporaries. Medical historians have long known that Locke was a medical adviser and practitioner of sorts, and his medical 'cases' have traditionally been scrutinised for details of his medical career and for details of past illnesses and treatments, read against a context of specifically medical thought. In a departure from that tradition, this study presents several of Locke's health-related interactions in their contemporary social contexts, These contexts are not exclusively medical, and it is shown how health issues overlapped with and permeated discussions of land, literature, gender, politics and religion.

Focussing on specific micro-historical scenes, this study explores the myriad ways in which health was configured in Locke's world. In this study, we see Locke engaged in presenting the health of a colony in Carolina in America; employed in the management of Anthony Ashley Cooper's festering abscess; writing to the Fletchers of Saltoun about nature-hastening medicines and ignorant practitioners; subduing rumours about Matthew Slade, a mentally unstable scholarly friend; helping Elizabeth Northumberland to describe her searing pains, and more. In this thesis, stories of health from Locke's world are interwoven with similar short scenes of health from his published works to show the reader how Locke himself considered health-related scenes stimulating and illuminating.

Contents

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I have benefited enormously from conversation with lively thinkers working on medicine, philosophy, literature, history and performance, and endeavour to repay them.

Thanks finally to my family for being supportive.

Abbreviations, conventions and transcriptions

The following abbreviations have been used for convenience:

OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com
NNBW	*Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, ed. P. C Molhuysen et al. (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911-37), 10 vols
MS / MSS	manuscript / manuscripts
l. / *s.* / *d.*	pounds / shillings / pence
L.	appears before a letter number from Locke's *Correspondence*, ed. Esmond De Beer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976-89), 8 vols
Correspondence	accompanies a reference to a page number in the *Correspondence*

The original language of each letter from the *Correspondence* is indicated. De Beer's translations have been used except in the case of French, which I have translated with the help of Kelvin Smith.

Page numbers are given without the markings 'p.' or 'pp.' except where manuscripts are referred to, in which case:

p. /pp.	page / pages
fol. / fols.	folio / folios

The following transcription conventions have been used:

^word^	an inserted word
~~word~~	a deleted word
~~xxxx~~	a deleted and illegible word
<...>	lost, illegible or missing text
[...]	text elided by me
[?]	uncertain transcription
Lord*ship*	expanded contraction

The original features of each manuscript, i.e. superscript contractions, have been retained where they will result in no confusion. Where it is relevant, particular features of manuscripts (like water blots or tears) are mentioned in the footnotes. Where I have quoted from other scholars' transcriptions I have preserved his conventions and glossed them in the footnotes.

The year is taken to start on 1 January.

Dates are given according to the Julian calendar unless otherwise indicated.

All books cited for content are listed in the bibliography.

Introduction

health is y^e^ temperate zone of y^e^ habitable part of a mans life[1]

i. Rich and specific scenes

As all humankind before and after them, John Locke (1632-1704) and his wide circle of friends and acquaintances regularly thought about and discussed their health. This study offers a close reading of several specific instances in which health and sickness were discussed or considered by Locke and his contemporaries. By Locke's 'contemporaries' I do not necessarily mean scientists and physicians. Locke was a trained and practicing doctor, and a wealth of scholarship exists which situates his practice and learning in the context of the seventeenth-century medical profession and natural philosophy. By considering Locke as a doctor, scholars have often cast him as a scientist among other scientists, collecting medical data from the world. In doing so they have neglected to explore the experiential and literary aspects of the health-related encounters that he had, which can reveal much about the way health and sickness were understood in Locke's world. This study revisits some of the primary material used by previous commentators, yet it approaches this material from a new perspective, paying attention to the specific features of each exchange without hurrying to subsume those features into broader types. Taking inspiration from the approach of Dorothy and Roy Porter's *Patient's Progress*, this study was catalysed by the question: What did Locke's contemporaries think, do and write when they or their friends sought health or faced sickness?[2] This seemingly practical question, read through the micro-histories of several small-scale human interactions, opens a fruitful new trajectory for investigating the cultural climate of Locke's times. When Locke is presented as a scientist collecting data, all arrows point to the edifice of *his thought*, and he is portrayed as a subject analysing objects, out of step with the 'patients' that he 'treats'. Shunning the retrospective view of Locke as a cold orderly observer, I take the default position that Locke was immersed in a common culture with the other people who feature in this thesis, and I endeavour to depict him among the living furniture of his world.

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[1] A note from Locke MS d.10, fol.27.

[2] Dorothy Porter and Roy Porter, *Patient's Progress: Doctors and Doctoring in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford and Cambridge, 1989).

My approach is informed by a belief in the kind of thick description advocated by Clifford Geertz, which was turned into a way of reading the past by new historicists.[3] I have utilised this approach because it seems to suit the literary nature of Locke's published work and his notes, which are built on particular examples, and which often dwell on specific and individual scenes. For example, the following excerpt from one of Locke's notebooks comes embedded in a narrative that is itself rich in cultural signs:

> M^rs^ Brereton daughter to Ld Brereton aged about 13 or 14 was taken on good Friday as she was going to church suddainly with accident paine ~~when her~~ in one hippe w^ch^ from thence extended its self to all the joynts below & after wards affected all the joynts of her body, but not all equally with the same acute <...> nor at all times a like, but she was soe weake & in such pain y^t^ she was faine to be turnd & movd only with a sheet, & she often would rore out with extremity of torment this continued about 6 weeks in w^ch^ time she grew about 6 inches ^Mrs Tyrrell^[4]

This piece of information was conveyed to Locke by Mrs Tyrrell and could be classed as medical by modern editors. Yet it seems to me that the value of this passage lies not in its capacity to be evidence of a medical theme, but in the questions it provokes in relation to the particular instance it describes. What did it mean to fall ill on Good Friday? Why had Mrs Tyrrell passed this story on to Locke? How did Mrs Tyrrell assess 'torment'? Was it through the girl's 'roaring'? Locke made many notes from travel books that were caught in particular narrative scenes, like this note from Thomas Gage's *New Survey of the West Indies*:

> At y^e^ first sight I was a little daunted to behold the Prior who lookd most fearfully w^t^ a bladder from his throat sweld almost round his neck, w^c^ hung over his showlders & breast, & stayd upon his chin, & lifted up his head soe y^t^ he could scarce looke any whether but up to heaven. In our discourse he told me y^t^ dissease had beene upon him at least 10 years, & y^t^ y^e^ water of y^t^ River had caused it in him & many others of Sacapula. when I came to y^e^ towne I discoverd many men & women w^t^ bladders in their throats like the poor Prior w^c^ made me unwilling to drinke there any Chocolatte made with y^t^ water, untill the Prior told me y^t^ it did hurt only some & those who did drinke y^e^ water cold. Gage. West Indi's | C17. P114. 55[5]

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[3] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973). 'Thick description is characterised by a complex specificity and circumstantiality', Joanna Overing and Nigel Rapport, *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts* (London, 2000), 350.

[4] Locke MS f.4, p.189, dated Sunday 24 October 1680.

[5] Additional MS 32554, p.230.

The details of this excerpt are what make it interesting. In his notebook, Locke filed it under the keyword *Bronchocele*, a term that relates to the actual swelling in the Prior's neck. The excerpt reveals the process by which the authorial voice came to understand the high prevalence of local neck-swellings, and reminds us – like the first excerpt about Mrs Brereton's daughter on her way to church – of the religious structures and figures of Locke's time. As Daniel Carey has explained, narrative structure was often used in texts of natural philosophy to draw the reader closer to the original observer's first-hand moment of knowledge acquisition.[6] Yet Mrs Tyrrell's nugget of information is a reminder that narrative structure was also a tool of gossip and general communication. These are only a few examples of the many similar scenes in the vast Locke archive and *oeuvre*, but they serve to remind us that Locke read and collected matters of health and the body that were not articulated from a professionally medical perspective.

Locke's published works are laced with vignettes that are concerned with the body and health yet which are not directly recognisable as scenes of medical practice.[7] For example, Locke regularly deferred to his own and others' experiences of their bowels in his writing. In the published version of *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* Locke wrote about the health benefits of 'going to stool regularly'.[8] Locke believed that the body could be modified by habit, and that: 'several motions that were not perfectly voluntary might yet by use and constant application be brought to be habitual if by an unintermitted custom

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[6] 'Arguments for imparting scientific knowledge that directly or indirectly suggests the use of narrative can be found in the work of Francis Bacon and Robert Boyle. Bacon, for example, distinguished two ways of imparting knowledge in *The Advancement of Learning*: the first involved a simple statement of results, termed the doctrinal method by Bacon; the second involved a step by step reproduction of the means by which a particular investigator arrived at the result, termed the initiative method. For Bacon, the benefit of adopting the latter method was clear – to link the minds of the reader and philosopher; the rhetorical implication is that the natural philosopher will adopt a narrative form in order to take to reader through the same steps of observation and conclusion.' Daniel Carey, 'Travel Narrative and the Problem of Human Nature in Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson' (unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford University, 1993), 78-79.

[7] In this study I use the word 'medical' in its broadest sense, to mean variously: 'curative'; 'A remedy (as in spiritual, psychological, or social matters)'; 'An object or procedure intended to have healing power; a method or process of curative or preventative treatment; a defence against illness or injury', *OED*. The difference between my definition of 'medical' and the definition of medical used by other scholars in the field can be seen by comparing the moments from Locke's published work that I discuss immediately below with the 'medical examples' that J. R. Milton identifies in Locke's *Essay*, which are of a more professional tone and feature the physician or scientist character, J. R. Milton, 'Locke, Medicine, and the Mechanical Philosophy', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 9:2 (2001), 221-243; 233. Milton's examples are in Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford, 1975), III.iv.16, IV.iii.25 and IV.xx.4.

[8] John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, ed. John W. Yolton and Jean S. Yolton (Oxford, 1989), 99-101.

they were at certain seasons to be constantly produced."[9] In the published version this idea reads fairly impersonally, but in the original letters that Locke sent to Edward Clarke it is clear that Locke tested this process on himself. In 1684 Locke wrote to Clarke to explain how he ('I myself being naturally costive') had trained himself into a new routine of bowel movements:

> I first, then, considered that a great many motions of our body that seemed natural and almost wholly involuntary, might yet, by a use and constant application, in a good measure be made obedient, and particularly of the peristatic motion of the guts which caused that excretion I saw might be restrained <...> Therefore after my first eating, which was seldom till noon, I constantly went to the stool, and there stayed so long that most commonly I [attained] my errand; and by this constant practice in a short time the habit was so settled, that I usually feel a motion; if not I, however, go to the place as if I had, and there seldom fail (not once in a month) to do the business I came for.[10]

These experiments in the privy are a part of the material history of *Some Thoughts* and epitomise the culture that Locke and his friends shared. After Locke moved back to London in 1689, Benjamin Furly, his Quaker friend and host of the *Lantaarn* club, wrote to him about his health. The erudite Furly used the conventions of the letter to make his absent body present: 'I have had nine stooles,' he wrote on 22 May, continuing on 24 May 'last night Smelling egs and bacon so delicate to my Stomach I had much adoe to forbear yet did'.[11] Confident about Locke's intimacy with (and interest in) his alimentary movements, Furly added a postscript to his letter of the 24th, mingling news with a question:

> I forgot to tell you I have had to day much proneness to vomit and have in the violence of coughing vomited up my Grewel, and that I swallow with some difficulty the Lappet of my throat hanging downe – dos thy booke go on?[12]

Nestled together in the postscript, only a dash separates a mention of the *corps* and a mention of the book, and the image of Furly vomiting his gruel through his damaged throat sits at close quarters with his question about the progress of Locke's work.

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[9] *Some Thoughts*, 99-100. 'Certain seasons' here probably takes the meaning of 'certain instances'.
[10] L.799, Locke to Edward Clarke, mid-December 1684. The <...> indicates ten missing lines, De Beer notes. Brilliantly, J. R. Milton writes in his *ODNB* entry that 'Of all Locke's works, *Some Thoughts* is perhaps the one that reveals most about its author', 'John Locke (1632-1704)', *ODNB*.
[11] L.1140, Furly to Locke, 22 May 1689 (English); L.1141, Furly to Locke, 24 May 1689 (English).
[12] L.1141. Furly probably refers to the *Essay*.

Locke's readers were expected to be adequately self-observational to participate in their own experiments as part of the process of reading his books. He seems to have anticipated readers and thinkers like he and Furly: readers who were as able and willing to refer to their own bowel movements as to metaphysical theories. In his chapter on primary and secondary qualities in the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke evoked the example of *manna* – not the heavenly food but the popular laxative – to explain his belief that secondary qualities begin their lives with our apprehensions of them rather than in the objects we attribute them to: that they don't inhere. Locke argued that some aspects of manna, like motion, size and figure (what Locke calls the primary qualities) do actually exist in the manna, yet other aspects like sickness, pain, sweetness, and whiteness are simply the effects of its operations on us.[13] The example that Locke provided relied on his readers assenting to the feeling of stomachic griping and then reasoning outwards from there:

> both *Motion and Figure are really in the* Manna, whether we take notice of them or no: This every Body is ready to agree to. Besides, Manna by the Bulk, Figure, Texture and Motion of its Parts, has a Power to produce the Sensations of Sickness, and sometimes of acute Pains, or Gripings in us. That these *Ideas* of *Sickness and Pain are not in the* Manna, but Effects of its Operations on us, and are no where when we feel them not: This also every one readily agrees to. And yet men are hardly to be brought to think, that *Sweetness and Whiteness are not really in Manna*; which are but the effects of the operations of *Manna*, by the motion, size, and figure of its Particles on the Eyes and Palate; as the Pain and Sickness caused by *Manna*, are confessedly nothing, but the effects of its operations on the Stomach and Guts, by the size, motion, and figure of its insensible parts.[14]

Relying on his readers' ubiquitous experience of taking manna and feeling their guts wrangle and gripe under its influence, Locke entreated them to use this experience to move to an understanding of the dynamic nature of sweetness and whiteness.[15] Because

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[13] Locke, *Essay*, II.viii.18.

[14] Locke, *Essay*, II.viii.18.

[15] Philosopher Michael Jacovides has recently done work that makes great use of specific and circumstantial investigations. Jacovides writes about the porphyry argument in Locke's *Essay*, II.viii.19. Realising that the nature of Locke's argument depends on the seventeenth-century experience of viewing porphyry, Jacovides considers the light in which Locke and others would have seen the stone, and he even goes and looks at material specimens of stones in a New York museum. Jacovides is motivated to delve back into the features of the individual example for the purpose of testing the philosophical veracity of Locke's argument, which is different to my approach, but he nevertheless has faith in the density and particularity of meaning in specific circumstances. He understands that the rocks, drugs, or feelings in philosophic examples are more than just paraphrases of 'x' and 'y'. Michael Jacovides, 'Cambridge Changes of Colour', *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly*, 81 (2000), 142-163.

of his regular correspondence and conversation with people about their bodies and health, Locke could second-guess them on this point, and their apparent willingness to consider the effects of laxatives as subjective. Though this moment ties in to one of the larger and more famous of Locke's theories (i.e. the primary-secondary quality distinction), it still hinges on the quotidian scene of a person with stomach pains. This study makes a move back towards specific moments in Locke's lived experience and his philosophy, focussing on the genre of bodily, medical, and health-related scenes.

Locke was acutely aware that it was hard to understand the true meaning of past events and utterances across the distance of history, and his approach to the problem backgrounds my own. The historical texts that Locke was interested in understanding were Scriptural, and his approach to St Paul's Epistles is characterised by a methodology of deep circumstantiality and historical contextuality.[16] Likewise, at the start of his *Reasonableness of Christianity* Locke claimed that the Scriptures are to be understood 'in the plain direct meaning of the words and phrases, such as they may be supposed to have had in the mouths of the Speakers, who used them according to the Language of that Time and Country wherein they lived'.[17] This is similar to Quentin Skinner's paradigmatic idea that 'No agent can eventually be said to have meant or done something which he could never be brought to accept as a correct description of what he had meant or done'.[18]

Locke has attracted a vast amount of scholarship, much of which has shaped and provoked my study, and which I will describe here to contextualise my own approach.

ii. Locke as a science-hungry physician

At the turn of the twentieth century, the medical practitioners and historians William Osler and Edmund Withington were the first to write seriously about Locke and medicine. They described his education, his friendships with other physicians, and his experience of treating patients. They were writing half a century before the great cache of

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16 Locke, 'An Essay for the Understanding of St Paul's Epistles by Consulting St Paul Himself' in *Writings on Religion*, ed. Victor Nuovo (Oxford, 2002), 51-66. In his introduction Nuovo writes, in reference to the preface to the essay on St Paul, that Locke 'seems to have discovered the practice of contextualization long before it became fashionable', xxxix.
17 Locke, *The Reasonableness of Christianity, as Delivered in the Scriptures* (London, 1695), 2.
18 Quentin Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History and Theory*, 8:1 (1969), 3-53; 28.

Locke papers known as the Lovelace Collection was released to the Bodleian Library. For a synopsis of Locke's life, they had to rely on Henry Fox Bourne's scrappy and anecdotal biography.[19] Using manuscript evidence to focus on medical cases or notes, their work did make certain specific scenes visible, yet their 'professional' outlook more often led to a consideration of Locke's famous colleagues and his 'scientific' perspective. Eagerly reading Locke into the medical academy, they related to Locke with an approach somewhere between the 'Pen-Pals' and 'Doing-and-Sharing' caricatures described by Ian Hacking.[20]

Both men sketched out Locke's 'medical life'.[21] Osler wrote that little was known about Locke's boyhood and early education, but that he went up to Westminster school 'under the famous Dr. Busby, where he had as fellow students Richard Lower, Walter Needham, and John Mapletoft, who subsequently became well-known physicians'.[22] Osler told how, having entered Christ Church college, Oxford in 1652, where he gained his BA and MA and then stayed on with a studentship, Locke was not sure what career to follow, and that: 'Thoroughly disgusted, he had broken with the old scholastic philosophy and, imbued with the new learning of Bacon and Descartes, felt what Donne calls "the sacred hunger of science"'.[23] Osler wrote that Locke's involvement with Robert Boyle probably encouraged him towards medicine, though he didn't receive his MB until 1675. He also commented at length on Locke's relationship with Thomas Sydenham, who Osler called 'the English Hippocrates'. Whereas Osler situated Locke among a contemporary milieu, Withington's knowledge of classical medicine caused him to liken Locke's elusive medical career to Aristotle's, and Locke's research methods to those of Paracelsus.

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19 Henry Fox Bourne, *Life of John Locke* (London, 1876), 2 vols.

20 Though Hacking wrote specifically of present-day philosophers' relations to past philosophers, I think the example carries as a general example that can be applied to medical historians. For 'Pen-Pals': 'Old philosophers are to be studied as pen friends: one-way discussants across the seas of time. We don't care about them because of their role in *their* day'; and for 'Doing-and-Sharing' philosophers: 'Dead philosophers [...] speak to us directly about matters of joint concern.' Ian Hacking, 'Two Kinds of "New Historicism" for Philosophers', *New Literary History*, 21:2 (1990), 343-364; 347.

21 William Osler, *An Alabama Student and other Biographical Essays* (Oxford, 1908); E. T. Withington, 'John Locke as a Medical Practitioner', *Janus*, 14 (1909), 491-505.

22 Osler, *Alabama Student*, 69.

23 Osler, *Alabama Student*, 70. The whole line is 'Is not thy sacred hunger of science / Yet satisfied?' from John Donne's 'To Mr B. B.' in *The Complete English Poems*, ed. A. J. Smith (Oxford, 1971), 200-1.

Both Osler and Withington seem to have considered their projects important not because of Locke's great contributions to medicine, but because of Locke's celebrity as a 'great English philosopher', which could in turn reflect grandeur back on their profession. Osler wrote: 'we may claim Dr. Locke as a bright ornament of our profession', and Withington called him 'the most celebrated man that ever belonged to the British medical profession'.[24] Both men thought about the particular qualities of Locke the philosopher, and how well these qualities transferred to clinical practice. Osler described Locke as 'the apostle of common sense' who 'ranked with Socrates and a few others who have brought philosophy from the clouds to the working-day world'.[25] Withington called Locke 'the calm, practical, clear-minded lover of truth,' describing him as a man 'whose thoughts possessed hands rather than wings', and who should be added to 'the roll of the profession'.[26] Arranged in configuration with other greats, Withington and Osler's Locke appeared to hungrily weigh the furniture of the working-day world in his grounded, manual mind.

Osler and Withington expressed an interest in the style of Locke's perception: his 'spirit of inquiry'/'wide scope of Locke's inquiries', as they both variously put it.[27] What was being looked *at*, or the dynamic of looking, was not necessarily as interesting for Osler and Withington as the fact that the great Locke was looking at it. This sometimes threw up wildcards when Locke appeared to have taken an interest in things that weren't necessarily rationally believable.[28]

When Kenneth Dewhurst came to consider Locke's medical career fifty years later, the field had changed.[29] The Bodleian library had acquired the Lovelace Collection, and Maurice Cranston had written a new and improved biography.[30] In his broader medical

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24 Osler, *Alabama Student*, 106; Withington, 'John Locke as a Medical Practitioner', 491.
25 Osler, *Alabama Student*, 68.
26 Withington also notes in Locke a 'many-sidedness of mind and epoch-making originality', 'John Locke as a Medical Practitioner', 491.
27 Osler, *Alabama Student*, 104; Withington, 'John Locke as a Medical Practitioner', 500.
28 Like for example an excerpt that Locke copied out from John Raymond's *Mercurio Italico* (1648) about a man who snuffed up some dried Basil that then produced a nest of scorpions in his brain (Add. MS 32554). Withington writes that the excerpt 'is both curious in itself and gives rise to speculation as to how much of it Locke, who, through Hume, was the father of modern scepticism, may have believed', 'John Locke as a Medical Practitioner', 494. The basil / scorpions excerpt is reproduced in Appendix 1 of this thesis.
29 Kenneth Dewhurst, *Physician and Philosopher* (London, 1963).
30 Maurice Cranston, *John Locke: A Biography* (London, 1957). Dewhurst identified Osler and Withington as his predecessors, *Physician and Philosopher*, vii-viii.

history writing Dewhurst seemed less concerned of the specificity of historical context than Osler. Dewhurst wrote an article about 'Othello Syndrome' (a term he coined) in which Shakespeare and Boccaccio discussed psychosis with Emil Kraepelin.[31] Elsewhere, Dewhurst wrote about a dream that had been dreamt by Locke's friend William Popple's wife and passed to Locke, interpreting the dream *a la* Freud, effectively dragging Mrs Popple out of 1693 and onto his 1950s couch.[32] He published one article titled 'A Seventeenth-Century Symposium on Manic-Depressive Psychosis', a term and concept not coined until much later, and another on one of Locke's better-known medical cases in which he treated Elizabeth, Countess of Northumberland for searing facial pains in France in 1676, titled 'A Symposium on Trigeminal Neuralgia'.[33] Psychoanalytic dream interpretations and *symposia* on manic-depressive psychosis and trigeminal neuralgia were not happening in the seventeenth century. Dewhurst's use of these terms seems to have been a way of reaching out to past practitioners and relating to them via a common nosological thread. He seems to have been interested in communicating across time periods on eternal themes of human behaviour. Writing of this kind coarsely tears the original events out of context, posthumously diagnosing patients with diseases that neither they nor their doctors would ever have heard of. This approach creates a kind of zombie-patient, dragged out of his own language and setting into a foreign moment.

Dewhurst's best known work on Locke is *John Locke (1632-1704), Physician and Philosopher.* This book has always been widely used because it prints many notes from the journals Locke kept from 1675 onwards, interspersed with biographical chapters that chart Locke's medical life. Like Osler, Dewhurst situated Locke among a professional milieu. Beginning his biography with Locke's break from scholasticism at Oxford, Dewhurst described the new strains of thought that permeated that university in the mid-seventeenth century, and about how 'the Baconian philosophy' had 'shaped medical thought in the Oxford of Locke's youth'.[34] Bacon's method, Dewhurst wrote, 'was more

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31 Dewhurst and John Todd, 'The Othello Syndrome: A Study in the Psychopathology of Sexual Jealousy', *Journal of Nervous and Mental Illness*, 122 (1955), 367-374.

32 Dewhurst, 'A Seventeenth-Century Dream Interpreted', *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 136 (1963), 594-596.

33 Dewhurst, 'A Symposium on Trigeminal Neuralgia: With contributions by Locke, Sydenham, and other Eminent Seventeenth-Century Physicians', *Journal for the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 12 (1957), 105-106.

34 'It was an austere, hard-working Oxford which took in this twenty-year-old undergraduate son of a Somersetshire lawyer, and presented him with a tantalizing contrast between the academic orthodoxy of the schools and the unofficial new philosophy of the "Invisible College", whose members later formed the Royal Society.' Dewhurst, *Physician and Philosopher*, 3.

likely to lead to steady progress in clinical medicine than research based upon *a priori* hypotheses.' This was because: 'Bacon urged physicians to study the natural history of phenomena by making a series of specific inquiries, so that the accumulated mass of observed facts would lead them to formulate some general explanation."[35]

Dewhurst noted that this information-collection ethos shaped Locke's manuscript notes, which, by the time Dewhurst was writing, were shown to be extremely numerous, consisting of commonplace books, notebooks, letters, journals and memorandum books. Introducing the first batch of Locke's journal notes in his edition, Dewhurst evoked the figure of a scientist involved on a Baconian quest, seemingly as a way of apologising to the reader for the prosaic nature of the material ahead of him:

> When Locke left for France he began to keep a daily journal in vellum-bound almanacs which he continued, with diminishing regularity, until near the end of his life. It is from these entries that an outline of his medical interests can now be traced. He collected all manner of information: notes from his reading, recipes from doctors, apothecaries, and laymen; observations on patients, accounts of operations, and the organization of French hospitals. It must not, however, be assumed that he necessarily believed in the efficacy of all these remedies; he merely notes the precise details and, whenever possible, illustrated them from his own, or his informant's, experience. These journals are, therefore, mainly repositories of plain measurable facts, mingled with information based on the experience of others which might subsequently be useful in practice: they were never intended to be vehicles of artistic expression. Locke preferred dull facts to the vaguely mystical medieval glamour which still veiled the medical art, and hence his journals represent the sober detachment of the medical scientist, rather than the eager involvement of the artist. It was this aptitude for cool precise inquiry in a passionate age which led to his signal achievements.[36]

Dewhurst too evoked Locke's spirit of inquiry, using the idea of a 'two cultures' split between the arts and sciences to associate Locke with a specifically '*cool* precise inquiry'.[37] From all the pre-1970s medical scholarship, the image that emerged of Locke was of some kind of super viewing machine, impartially and 'soberly' processing the data of the world for scientific ends. This image of the *asking* and *observing* Locke has a strange effect on the things that he was inquiring of, and the things that he wrote down. We are told that the journals are 'repositories of plain measurable facts', presumably forged in dynamic with Locke's powerful aspect. Experience and happenings that involve other

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35 Dewhurst, *Physician and Philosopher*, 5.
36 Dewhurst, *Physician and Philosopher*, 51.
37 My italics.

people, like 'recipes from doctors, apothecaries, and laymen; observations on patients, accounts of operations', become scientific objects for Locke to store away, like specimens in a kind of intellectual butterfly cabinet.

The generic structure that these three critics imposed on their material silenced crucial facets of its historical context – an effect that was probably caused by the mono-disciplinarity of their research culture and cultural ideas of the links between rationality, religion, science, and emotion. In 1904, Osler delivered an Ingersoll lecture on 'Science and Immortality'.[38] He addressed the audience by drawing a contemporary divide between science and religion:

> The man of science is in a sad quandary to-day. He cannot but feel that the emotional side to which faith leans makes for all that is bright and joyous in life. Fed on the dry husks of facts, the human heart has a hidden want which science cannot supply; as a steady diet it is too strong and meaty, and hinders rather than promotes harmonious mental metabolism [...] To keep his mind sweet the modern scientific man should be saturated with the Bible and Plato, with Shakespeare, and Milton; to see life through their eyes may enable him to strike a balance between the rational and the emotional, which is the most serious difficulty of the intellectual life.[39]

Though Osler was delivering the Ingersoll lecture to men of science of the early twentieth century, there is a sense that this view of the rational/emotional, coolness/passion, science/arts split characterises his, Withington and Dewhurst's work on Locke. There is virtually no consideration of religion and theology in the writings on Locke and medicine described above, yet – as Victor Nuovo explains – 'Locke lived and worked during an age, the last in western European history, when religion pervaded every aspect of human life'.[40]

iii. Current scholarship and natural philosophy

Withington, Osler and Dewhurst had all hinted at the links between Locke's medicine and his philosophy, and these links were initially pursued by François Duchesneau in his

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38 The Ingersoll lectures, held at Harvard University, were initiated in 1896 for the specific discussion of human immortality. Osler, *Science and Immortality* (London, 1906).
39 Osler, *Science and Immortality*, 76-78.
40 Locke, *Writings on Religion*, xv. Something that pervades is 'present and apparent throughout'.

L'Empirisme de Locke (1973).[41] It is the question of a link between philosophy and science that now inspires leading twenty-first century scholars, who often discuss academic medicine as a cognate and adjunct of natural philosophy.[42] The extent to which Sydenham, Bacon, Boyle and others influenced Locke's philosophy is still under debate, as scholars argue about Locke's adherence to the mechanical, corpuscularian thesis, and his use of natural history techniques.[43] The answers to these questions of influence can affect the way we understand Locke's thought, particularly his *Essay*, which, it has been argued and counter-argued, was informed by and displays certain knowledge systems born from natural philosophy or medicine.[44]

With the current turn to the study of natural philosophy comes a new turn to accuracy in scholarship. Writing in 2001, Milton criticised Dewhurst and Cranston for their inexact dating of manuscript notes and their failure to refer to the full breadth of commonplace books that Locke used.[45] Milton has written on Locke's life in Oxford, using Locke's university notebooks to reveal 'an extensive programme of medical reading undertaken [by Locke] from the late 1650s onwards', dispelling the myth of the backward, 'scholastic' nature of the medical education Locke received that had been emphasised by Osler and

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[41] François Duchesneau, *L'Empirisme de Locke* (The Hague, 1973). Patrick Romanell was also working on a project that considered Locke, medicine and philosophy, which culminated in his *John Locke and Medicine: A New Key to Locke* (Buffalo, NY, 1984).

[42] For example Milton, 'Locke, Medicine and the Mechanical Philosophy'; Milton, 'Locke in Oxford', in *Locke's Philosophy: Content and Context*, ed. G. A. J. Rogers (Oxford, 1994), 29-47; J. C. Walmsley, 'John Locke's Natural Philosophy (1632-1671)' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1998); Walmsley, 'Sydenham and the Development of Locke's Natural Philosophy', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, 16:1 (2008), 65-83; Peter R. Anstey and Stephen Harris, 'Locke and Botany', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 37 (2006), 151-171.

[43] For example the works in the previous note, and Anstey's debate of John Yolton and Duchesneau's theses in 'Locke, Bacon and Natural History', *Early Science and Medicine*, 7:1 (2002), 65-92.

[44] See for example the argument between Anstey and Walmsley over Locke's fragment 'Morbus', which related to a larger question about Locke's corpuscularian philosophy in the *Essay* in *Early Science and Medicine*, 5:4 (2000), 366-393; 7:4 (2002), 358-397.

[45] Milton wrote that Dewhurst's work was 'vague in respect of chronology' and that there is 'no evidence' to determine whether some of Dewhurst's statements about Locke's life were 'true'. 'Dewhurst's main virtues were industry and curiosity: his faults, which mar virtually all of his otherwise very valuable work, were inaccuracy and carelessness', Milton, 'John Locke: The Modern Biographical Tradition' in James G. Buickerood and Earl Havens, ed., 'John Locke Through the Centuries: Assessing the Lockean Legacy, 1704-2004' (=*Eighteenth Century Thought*, 3 (2007)), 89-110; 101. Dewhurst's *Physician and Philosopher* is still currently used though the Clarendon Press is preparing a scholarly edition of Locke's medical writings, which will truly signal the handover of Locke-and-medicine from the old scholars to the new.

Dewhurst.[46] Milton showed that Locke had a 'serious engagement with academic medicine' and 'was well acquainted with the writings of many of the most daring innovators in seventeenth-century medicine, including Harvey.'[47] Conducting research on Locke's scientific colleagues and allegiances, Milton showed how the influence of Boyle, Lower, Stahl and other prominent Oxford researchers on Locke provided a developed commentary on Locke's medical interests (as apparent from his notes) in France and later the Netherlands, and demystified Locke's attachment to the experimental circle at Wadham.[48]

There has also happily been a fresh understanding of the links between medicine, natural philosophy, religion and theology. J. C. Walmsley has noted how the anti-scholastic tone found in Locke's essay *De Arte Medica* links with contemporary ideas about the intellectual obscurity and darkness of the 'church of Rome'.[49] Daniel Carey has shown how the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* can be read as a natural history of man and an investigation into humans as a microcosm of God's creation.[50] Louisa Simonutti's work on Locke's Dutch circles has shown how theological and medical interests could inhabit the same sites of inquiry.[51]

Recent work on medicine and natural philosophy has brought Locke's thought into the context of other seventeenth-century scientists and physicians, re-organised Locke's history of influence and allegiance, and led to a more intelligent understanding of his life – yet work of this kind has little concern for the detail of individual cases. There is still work being done wherein Locke's medical cases are discussed, but this work is very

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46 Milton, 'Locke, Medicine and the Mechanical Philosophy', 224: 'A few of the works from which he took notes were ancient or medieval, but most had been written in the last hundred years. The picture of Locke being forced to trudge through Galen is quite false'.

47 Milton, 'Locke, Medicine and the Mechanical Philosophy', 224.

48 'The study of medicine led by an easy transition to natural philosophy. Exactly when Locke first became acquainted with the ideas of the new mechanical philosophy is not easily determined. There seems to be no evidence that he had any links with the group of innovators associated with John Wilkins at Wadham College, the nucleus of the future Royal Society, and if he had read anything by Descartes during his first years at Oxford there is no trace of it among his papers', Milton, 'John Locke (1632-1704)', *ODNB*. Roger Woolhouse has also recently published *Locke: A Biography* (Cambridge, 2007).

49 Walmsley, 'John Locke's Natural Philosophy', 156-157.

50 Carey, 'Locke, Travel Literature, and the Natural History of Man', *Seventeenth Century*, 11 (1996), 259-280.

51 Luisa Simonutti, 'Circles of *Virtuosi* and "Charity under Different Opinions": The Crucible of Locke's Last Writings' in Sarah Hutton and Paul Schuurman ed., *Studies on Locke: Sources, Contemporaries, and Legacy* (Berlin, 2008), 159-175.

much undertaken under the auspices of medical history, and in the tradition of older medical historians. One 2007 article about Locke's practice in child medicine remarks again on 'Locke's spirit of continual enquiry', surmising – in the style of Osler and Withington – that 'This habit of continual enquiry suggests that Locke had one of the essential elements of a truly great physician'.[52] Written from the point of view of a practitioner, it ends by quoting Osler and affirming that there 'is much that paediatricians can still learn from John Locke."[53]

iv. My study

This study is inspired by the interest that older medical historians paid to Locke's specific 'cases', and in it I focus on specific encounters with people (or in one instance, a place) concerned with constructing or preserving health and warding off sickness. However, it is not written from the perspective of a medical professional, and instead utilises the interdisciplinary outlook of some of the recent work on Locke and the history of ideas, particularly work written by scholars open to understanding the cross-pollination between science, literary culture and religion in Locke's world. Why? Because I believe that the nature and size of the events that the older medical historians wrote about are fertile ground for enquiry, but that those writers did not amply search that ground, and were particularly scant on good literary analyses of their material. This study experiments with the contention that so-called medical encounters are not necessarily best viewed against an exclusively medical context. I show several encounters in a communicative dynamic, attending to the agency and identity of the people involved.[54] Medical events are re-contextualised amidst swirls of local action – textual, practical, and intellectual, in a sort of 'flesh and blood' micro-history of ideas.

Against the backdrop of Locke's rather starry received biography, this study works on the understanding that Locke was generally fluent in medicine in a broad sense: able to satisfy any interests he had in the area, communicate with experts, move in medical

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52 A. N. Williams, '"To observe well ... and thence to make himself rules": John Locke's Principles and Practice of Child Healthcare', *Medical Humanities*, 33, (2007), 22-34; 27.
53 Williams, 'John Locke's Principles and Practice of Child Healthcare', 31.
54 Porter and Porter understood and were interested in the dynamic of the medical relationship, in which they perceived the patient's agency. They noted: 'Undergoing medication was not a matter of abandoning oneself blindly to professional authority. It involved active decision-making and negotiation, equivalent to buying an estate or selecting an education for one's children', *Patient's Progress*, 27.

circles, and offer laypersons advice of various kinds. Medicine was a *modus operandi* as well as a career path: a general skill, a capacity in which to communicate with scholars, and a means of offering relief to friends, as well as a way of interrogating the world. Of course, all of the encounters investigated here are mediated and created by texts, and I have paid critical attention to how Locke's medical communications are literarily built. Locke was a *man of letters*, and part of a circle that exchanged regular news, books and ideas, and many of his medical exchanges occurred within the auspices of an already-opened communicative channel. Where this happens, I have attended to other matter (like books and news) that flowed through that channel rather than eliminating it background noise.[55] This is neither a systematic study of one branch of Locke's medical thought, nor of his academic or professional milieu. It is an exploratory study, providing close readings of several of Locke's medical interactions in an interdisciplinary context, for the purpose of forging new ways of exploring the world in which Locke lived and how it was written.

In terms of Locke, the definition of 'medical' material has in part been defined by the publication of Dewhurst's edition of *just* Locke's medical notes from his journals. From that same era came John Lough's book about Locke's travels in France, which printed 'French' notes yet systematically omitted 'medical' notes. Reading the two texts together, Locke appears to have had two very different days on Sunday 19 April 1676, with Lough's Locke remarking on Catholics and Protestants at Aix, and Dewhurst's Locke collecting recipes and book recommendations from a leading physician there. Though I do not write much about Locke's journals, it is this effect of separate realms that I have tried to minimise by broadening the context to include material other than the traditionally medical. I have made full use of Locke's published books and notes, Edmond De Beer's edition of Locke's voluminous correspondence, and several of the archives hosting extant Locke material to complete this study. The chapters run more or less chronologically, and are not designed to cover 'phases' of Locke's life, but rather to present the reader with a thickening intellectual context and a resonance of language.

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55 Dewhurst, *Physician and Philosopher*, 66-68; Locke, *Locke's Travels in France 1675-1679, as related in his journals, correspondence and other papers*, ed. John Lough (Cambridge, 1953) 82-83.

Anthony Ashley Cooper: Particular constitutions at Exeter House

In 1684 Locke wrote to Thomas Herbert, to whom the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* would eventually be dedicated, regarding a bad turn of events.[1] Locke was suspected of writing seditious pamphlets, and was threatened with expulsion from the studentship that he still held at Christ Church College in Oxford.[2] In his letter to Pembroke, Locke reflected negatively on his links with the recently dead Anthony Ashley Cooper and the time he had spent – or rather wasted – in his household. Thinking about how Ashley's reputation followed and tainted him, Locke wrote: 'I cannot but thinke it hard, that any imputation that lyes upon him should draw suspitions upon me'. Referring to his involvement in the treatment of a dangerous abscess that Ashley had suffered from in the late 1660s, Locke wrote:

> For though either through attention, or good luck, I happend to doe him some acceptable service in that great, and strange disease, when he was opend. soe that he was afterwards pleased to own, that he owed his life to my care; and possibly the memory of that, might make him treat me ever after (as I confesse he did) with great civility and kindenesse; Yet some of my friends, when they considerd how small an advancement of my fortune I had made, in soe long an attendance, have thought that I have noe great reason to brag of the effects of that Kindnesse.[3]

The way Locke describes it to Pembroke, his decision to join Ashley's household held him back in the medical career he could have had. He lamented:

> if I had spent those years I lived with him, in the publique practise of physique, I believe I may say without boasting, that I might have made myself an other maner of establishment, then now I have[4]

Depicting himself as a retiring sort, Locke wrote that he had 'never been of any suspected clubs or caballs', and had an 'unmedleing temper' which inspired him 'with noe other desires, noe other aimes then to passe silently through this world with the company of a few good friends and books'. He continued to describe his preference for

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1 L.797, Locke to Pembroke, 28 November 1684 (English).
2 L.797. Milton, 'John Locke (1632-1704)', *ODNB*.
3 L.797.
4 L.797.

otium: 'And therefore to remove my self as far as might be from any publique concernes, I in the late unhappy times pitchd myself upon the study of physique'.[5]

Throughout the letter, Locke cleverly conjures physic in several capacities: as a way of doing Ashley a service, 'the publique practise of physique' as a career, and 'the study of physique' as a bookish retreat removed from public politics. Locke continued in this letter to Pembroke to say that he had acquired 'the reputation of noe small writer, without haveing donne any thing for it'; Locke argued that he had not published much but 'two or three copys of verses' – poems written for occasional purposes. Locke painted a picture of himself as a private scholar, as someone who shunned the clamour of coffee houses to stay 'at home by my fires side' working on his 'old theme de Intellecto humano'. He added another disclaimer to the letter, this time based on the quality of his own health:

> It has been asked, too, why I chose Holland, and not France for change of aire (For this consumptive poor shadow of a man moves noe where without a noise) The reasons in short were, I had tried France and it would not prove a cure, it only kept my cough at a pretty tolerable abatement, but silenced it not quite. And this country I had not tried, which I now fine more effectuall, and I have reason to hope in time for a perfect cure.[6]

Locke now evoked a constitutional idea of health to explain his location, playing on the belief that different air qualities and geographies suited people variously. Locke wrote that he might, had he not been delayed by his links with Ashley, have had more time to 'search' his health – to quest for it. Whilst in France in 1677 Locke had used a similar image in a letter to John Mapletoft, writing 'My health, which you are so kinde to in your wishes, is the only mistris I have a long time courted, and is soe coy a one that I thinke it will take up the remainder of my days to obteyn her good graces and keep her in good humor.'[7] Locke repeatedly described the changing circumstances of his health to his friends whilst he moved around Europe, and he seems to have understood the world as a shifting mass of physically compatible and incompatible environments.

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[5] L.797.
[6] L.797.
[7] L.339, Locke to Mapletoft, 12 June 1677 (English).

The critic Richard Ashcraft thought that this letter from Locke to Pembroke was false in its sentiments, and 'a document fraught with troublesome questions'.[8] He rightly suggested that the document is uncharacteristic for Locke, that his criticism of Shaftesbury is unusual, and that we should be careful about interpreting this letter 'as an expression of Locke's settled or general opinions'.[9] The veracity of the letter was important to Ashcraft's project as he sought to trace Locke's political motives and involvements, and he devotes several pages to it, though he edits out all the medical and health references. It does not seem true that Locke resented Shaftesbury. In this letter, Locke writes a version of his own biography, flagging up career disappointments, reading habits and his chronic asthma. He seals up a period from his past, making it sound quotidian in its disappointments.

The plot of the life that Locke wove in his vindicatory letter to Pembroke is that he was too preoccupied, in the 1660-70s, by Ashley's health and projects to search his own health or career. Locke makes good use of the biography format in this letter, using his time with Ashley to narrate a route to his current situation, pegging out the chronology of his life with the imagery of journeying, writing that his plan to 'passe silently through this world' had been thwarted by the fact that his sickly self 'moves noe where without a noise'. In the language of the letter, Locke adopts the persona of a humble passer-by. In terms of Locke and medicine, the phase of his life spent under Ashley's auspices is often approached in the same chronological-biographical style, with scholars considering how meeting Ashley, and helping with his abscess and administration, helped Locke to establish a career path (or held him back).[10]

This chapter takes a more interactive view of Locke's relationship with Ashley, because even jobs that hinder one's career involve encounters with new ideas and material, and sometimes being thrown around the shapes of someone else's venture can give you experience. Rather than measuring Ashley's influence on Locke in terms of esteem, I think it more worthwhile to look at the methodologies and language that featured in Ashley's projects and the way that Locke partook in them. The purpose of this chapter is

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8 Richard Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Princeton, 1986), 432.
9 Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics*, 434.
10 For example Peter Laslett in Locke, *Two Treatises*, ed. Laslett (Cambridge, 1988), 29; Roger Woolhouse, *Locke* (2007), 87-88.

to highlight some interesting methodological and intellectual aspects of Ashley's affairs in which Locke was engaged. It is divided into three different but complementary sections.

Firstly, the idea about each man searching, or questing, for his own health (as Locke says he had wished to), is one that Locke used in his arguments for toleration, where he employed ideas about health and physic to buttress his point about the role of the magistrate in matters of religion. While sketching out these analogies, Locke depicted the search for health as a private, personal quest that had to be based on close examination, particular to each person, in a way similar to the self-examination advocated by the Protestant tradition in terms of one's soul. Locke used the idea of each person's 'particular [bodily] constitution' to make his point. Locke and Sydenham's medical theory relied on this idea of each person having a particular constitution with its own set of reactions and phenomena, and I show how medical and political / religious ideas overlap.

Secondly, I look at the way in which Locke assisted Ashley with his abscess, which was essentially a process of paying very close attention to Ashley's body and administrating its repair. Locke helped Ashley to inquire into and account for his abscess by using certain types of writing. Long ago, William Osler described Locke's role in Ashley's household as 'physician and literary factotum', which is quite a fair description, yet these two jobs do not separate well, as one way in which Locke ministered to Ashley's health was by making written records of his illness.[11]

Thirdly, I move on to show how Locke was immersed in the papers of Ashley's colonial project in Carolina, for which he is well known to have written the rudimentary governmental document *The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina.*[12] It is less well known that Locke helped to configure, through the notes that he made, the *physical* constitution of that place, and it is this aspect of the Carolina project that I will examine here.[13] To entice new settlers, Carolina had to appear to be a place overflowing with health and prosperity. As Locke described himself doing in his letter to Pembroke, many people

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11 Osler, *Alabama Student*, 68.
12 A copy of which is at PRO 30/24/48 part 3, fols.125-142.
13 On the link between Carolina and Locke's politics see for example David Armitage, 'John Locke, Carolina, and the *Two Treatises of Government*', *Political Theory*, 32:5 (2004), 602-627; James Tully, *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts* (Cambridge, 1993), 137-176; Barbara Arneil, *John Locke and America: The Defence of English Colonialism* (Oxford, 1996).

(with adequate means) travelled Europe in 'search' of a salubrious physical culture, including air, diet, climate and other features. Even people simply travelling from one English town to another might notice the relative 'salubrity' of the two places, and the suitability of their personal constitutions to them. To encourage people to transplant their lives across the Atlantic, Carolina had to be healthy and health giving, and I show how Locke was present in the archive whilst descriptions of the salubrity of that place were configured.

To be straightforward and biographical, Ashley was a public figure who lived in London and patronised Locke, yet as an object in Locke's culture he was polyphonic and vast. He was a proponent of toleration, an outspoken politician, the host of an unusual disease, a caricature in the pamphlet press, and the nominal and proprietary referent for the 'Ashley' and 'Cooper' rivers in Carolina. What this chapter does is to show Locke's connection to the 'health' of several of those spheres.

i. Toleration

In his *History of My Own Time*, bishop Gilbert Burnet described Ashley, later the first earl of Shaftesbury, in a way that focussed on the shape of his understanding, writing that:

> He had a general knowledge of the slighter parts of learning, but understood little to bottom; so he triumphed in a rambling way of talking, but argued slightly when he was held close to any point. [...] His strength lay in the knowledge of England, and of all the considerable men in it. He understood well the size of their understanding and tempers; and he knew how to apply himself to them so dexterously that, though by his changing sides so often it was very visible how little he was to be depended on, yet he was much to the last trusted by all the discontented party.[14]

Ashley's own knowledge was shallow, Burnet thought, and he excelled in general talk rather than honed argument. His strength lay in an outward-looking aspect, and the measure he took of his fellow Englishmen's understandings, which he knew how to skilfully manipulate. Burnet's story of Ashley paints him as a fickle, politic opportunist, not to 'be depended upon', yet the image of some psycho-dexterity also comes through,

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[14] From Gilbert Burnet's *History of My Own Time* (London, 1724-34), 2 vols, vol.1, 96-97. Burnet had also called Ashley 'a deist at best', claiming that his faith lay in astrology.

and his turning nature was much noted by commentators.[15] Ashley had managed to transfer from Cromwell's interregnum council to Charles II's privy council, where his animosity towards popery and clerics made him a leading proponent of toleration, though he even wavered on that, sometimes opposing legislation that could give advantages to Catholics. In 1673 he effectively became leader of the Whig party, the opposition to the court.[16]

Ashley mooted ideas with conviction, and was not afraid to upset the churchmen in Parliament, backing his speeches up with summaries of recent history. In a speech delivered to Parliament in 1675 and published allegedly in Amsterdam to avoid confidentiality law, Ashley had argued against the idea of the divine right of kings:

> My principle is, That the King is King by Law, and by the same Law that the poor Man enjoys his Cottage; and so it becomes the concern of every man in England, that has but his liberty, to maintain and defend, to his utmost, the King in all his Rights and Prerogatives.[17]

With his clever rhetoric he enveloped king and commoner in the same law, evoking the spirit of the Magna Carta. Ashley knew that 'Cottage' inferred both a private dwelling and the earthly tabernacle of the body, so he evoked the rights associated with both these items, threatening that if the King did not obey the law, then both property and person would become insecure. An honest man would not be able to 'satisfie his Concience', he continued, 'to give up the Lords House for the Service of the Crown, or to take away the just rights and priviledges of the House of Commons to please the Lords', because any of these moves would work to destroy the structure of trust and accountability that ran through the nation from top to bottom. Having set out his own opinion, he described the opposing view, the view of the Laudians:

> But there is another Principle got into the World, my Lords, that hath not been long there; for Arch-Bishop Laud was the first Author that I remember of it: And I cannot find, that the Jesuites, or indeed the Popish Clergy hath ever owned it,

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15 Peter Coste wrote of how Locke enjoyed and respected Ashley's combative stance: 'Mr. Locke admired in him that penetration, that presence of mind which always prompted him with the best expedients, in the most desperate causes; that noble boldness, which appear'd in all his public Discourses; always guided by a solid Judgment, which never allowing him to say any thing but what was proper, regulated his least word, and left no hold the vigilance of his Enemies.' Locke, *A Collection of Several Pieces* (London, 1720), xiii.

16 Milton, 'Benjamin Martyn, the Shaftesbury Family, and the Reputation of the First Earl of Shaftesbury', *The Historical Journal*, 51 (2008), 315-335.

17 Anthony Ashley Cooper, *Two Speeches* (Amsterdam [London], 1675), 10.

> but some of the Episcopal Clergy of our British Isles: and 'tis withal, as 'tis new, so the most dangerous destructive Doctrine to our Government and Law, that ever was. 'Tis the first of the Cannons published by the Convocation, 1640. That Monarchy is of Divine Right. This Doctrine was then preached up, and maintained by Sibthorp, Manwaring, and others, and of later years, by a Book published by Dr. Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, under the name of Arch-Bishop Usher, and how much it is spread amongst our Dignified Clergy, is very easily known.[18]

Ashley showed himself to have kept track of English publications and opinion over a stretch of time, and was able to forge this argument which made his native clergy seem worse than the Jesuits or the papists. His beliefs about the earthly, legal nature of kingship and his correlative belief in liberty of personal conscience in religious matters were perhaps his most long-standing and consistent, and Ashley had tried to moderate laws in 1662 (The Act of Uniformity), and 1664 (The Conventicle Act), apparently pursuing the matter until his death.[19] Sibthorpe and Manwaring, whom Ashley referenced, had directly responded to Laud, and their respective sermons *Apostolike Obedience* and *Religion and Alegiance* both appeared in 1627, championing the divine right of the monarch.[20] Ussher's book, *The Power Communicated by God to the Prince and the Obedience Required of the Subject*, to which Ashley also referred, had been published posthumously in 1661 with a dedication to Charles II by Ussher's grandson, Locke's friend James Tyrrell, and it has been suggested that Locke may have supplied Ashley with that reference.[21]

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18 He continued: 'In a word, if this Doctrine be true, our Magna Charta is of no force, our Laws are but Rules amongst ourselves during the King's pleasure. Monarchy, if of Divine Right, cannot be bounded or limited by human Laws, nay, what's more, cannot bind itself; and All our Claims of right by the Law, or Constitution of the Government, All the Jurisdiction and Priviledge of this House, All the Rights and Priviledges of the House of Commons, All the Properties and Liberties of the People, are to give way, not only to the interest, but the will and pleasure of the Crown.' Cooper, *Two Speeches*, 10-11.

19 The Act of Uniformity (1662) required all clergymen, professors and teachers to accept the contents in the *Book of Common Prayer* and The Conventicle Act (1664) forbade dissenters from worshipping in groups of larger than five, Alan P. F. Sell, *Philosophy, Dissent and Nonconformity* (Cambridge, 2004), 9-10.

20 Vivienne Larminie, 'Roger Maynwaring (1589-1653)', *ODNB*; J.Fielding, 'Robert Sibthorpe (?-1662)', *ODNB*.

21 Locke, *An Essay Concerning Toleration*, ed. Milton and Philip Milton (Oxford, 2006), 93; James Ussher, *The Power Communicated by God to the Prince and the Obedience Required of the Subject* (London, 1661). It should be remembered that this book was published posthumously and that Ussher had not necessarily intended to situate this book in the Laudian tradition. Alan Ford's *ODNB* entry on Ussher has a good passage on his changing posthumous reputation. *The Power Communicated by God* was reprinted into the 1690s.

In 1668, soon after Locke moved to Ashley's house, he had drafted the *Essay Concerning Toleration*.[22] The text, which was not published, evolved in the context of proposals for toleration and comprehension that were drawn up in 1667-8 as part of the continuing effort, on the part of Ashley and others, to relax conformity laws.[23] In this *Essay Concerning Toleration* Locke began similarly to Ashley's speech above by asserting the error of the *jure divino* argument. Also evoking the image of the Magna Carta, he wrote that 'the magistrate is but umpire between man & man': he has no 'charter from heaven', and should not be able to direct men in the private arena of worship any more than he can direct men in other private matters. As he would do throughout his later works, Locke argued this point by analogy to other commonsense ideas of right and liberty. In the example below he uses health, property purchase and marriage as his commonsense comparisons:

> Can it be reasonable that he that cannot compell me to buy a house should force me his way to venture the purchase of heaven, that he that can not in justice prescribe me rules of preserving my health, should injoyne me methods of saving my soul, he that cannot choose a wife for me should choose a religion.[24]

The message is clear: the magistrate adjuring over matters of conscience is as ridiculous, offensive and intuitively illegal as his telling me to buy a particular house, take a certain regimen of physic, or marry a particular woman. Each of these three analogies was slightly different. Buying a house is likened to 'the purchase of heaven' and choosing a wife is likened to choosing a religion. The link between physic and salvation is methodological, and the similarity is drawn between *rules of preserving my health* and *methods of saving my soul.* Behind this lies the belief that each man's physic regimen is tailored to his own requirements, and that there can be no absolute regimen that would suit all men. Idiosyncrasy of soul and idiosyncrasy of bodily constitution are brought into league in this example from Locke's 1668 essay.

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[22] Milton writes that Locke could be considered a 'semi-detached member of Shaftesbury's household – someone who was often absent, but could be summoned when help was needed.' Locke, *Essay Concerning Toleration*, 11.
[23] Locke, *Essay Concerning Toleration*, 26-53.
[24] Locke, *Essay Concerning Toleration*, 273. C.f. the Porter and Porter quotation from my introduction that describes choosing medical treatment as involving the same active decision-making process as 'buying an estate or selecting an education for one's children', *Patient's Progress*, 27.

As Locke continued to argue for religious toleration throughout his life, so he continued to use and develop this same argument with its analogies to health, houses and marriage. This development can be seen in the first *Letter for Toleration.* Written in 1685 and published in 1689, it was directed towards 'the consciences of those that persecute, torment, destroy, and kill other men on pretence of religion'.[25] Locke began his argument by marking out two realms of 'inner' and 'outer'. In the Commonwealth (i.e. 'a society of men constituted for the procuring, preserving, and advancing their own civil interests'), civil interests are 'life, liberty, health, and indolencey of body; and the possession of *outward things*, such as money, lands, houses, furniture, and the like'.[26]

It is the duty of the magistrate to secure, by law, 'the just possession' of these outward things, but his duty reaches only to these things. The civil magistrate's jurisdiction only covers this outer realm, and he can have no care for souls; souls fall to the jurisdiction of the private, inner realm, which is a place dictated by 'full persuasion of the mind' and 'believing' only.[27] The civil magistrate only has the power of 'outward force', which could comprise 'imprisonment' and 'torments', but he can never 'have any such efficacy as to make men change the inward judgement that they have framed of things'.[28] He can use 'light and evidence' and persuasive 'argument' like any man, but those are his only and best tools.

The argument eventually moves to ask 'what is the magistrate's duty in the business of toleration'?[29] The question Locke raises here is: though 'the care of every man's soul belongs to himself, and is left unto himself', should the magistrate step in if 'he neglect the care of his soul'? The answer is no, and Locke shows why by more commonsense analogies with physic, again evoking the idiosyncrasy of health regimens, showing how nonsensical it would be to prescribe one regimen for all:

> No man can be forced to be rich or healthful [...] Let us suppose, however, that some prince was desirous to force his subjects to accumulate riches, or to preserve the health and strength of their bodies. Shall it be provided by law, that

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[25] John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government and A Letter Concerning Toleration* ed. Ian Shapiro (New York, 2003), 210-254; 216. It is interesting to note that Patrick Romanell, who wrote *Locke and Medicine: A New Key to Locke*, also edited the *Letter* (New York, 1950), yet he didn't mention medical imagery in his introduction.
[26] Locke, *Letter Concerning Toleration*, 218. My italics.
[27] Locke, *Letter Concerning Toleration*, 219.
[28] Locke, *Letter Concerning Toleration*, 219.
[29] Locke, *Letter Concerning Toleration*, 228.

> they must consult none but Roman physicians, and shall everyone be bound to live according to their prescriptions? What, shall no potion, no broth be taken, but what is prepared either in the Vatican, suppose, or a Geneva shop?[30]

To contextualise this analogy it is crucial that we remember how various and deregulated seventeenth-century physic was compared to physic in the twenty-first century. Locke imagines the lunacy of only allowing physic prescriptions issued from a central office, thus showing the lunacy of prescribed religion issued from the magistrate. There are no easy answers to salvation, Locke writes, and any answers that may be had will be gained by belief: 'every private man's search and study discovers it unto himself'.[31] It is our duty to undertake this private search in matters of conscience, and the analogy implies that we are also likely to undertake this kind of search in matters of health.

In one of his trickier, denser physic-based analogies, Locke explains more about the fruits of this search (i.e. faith and 'inward sincerity'), making the point that inward assent is the only way to salvation:

> I may grow rich by an art that I take not delight in; I may be cured of some disease by remedies that I have not faith in; but I cannot be saved by a religion I distrust, and by a worship I abhor. It is in vain for an unbeliever to take up the outward show of another man's profession. Faith only, and inward sincerity, are the things that procure acceptance with God. The most likely and approved remedy can have no effect on the patient, if his stomach reject it as soon as taken; you will in vain cram a medicine down a sick man's throat, which his particular constitution will be sure to turn into poison.[32]

The authorial persona *can* be cured by a remedy that he has no faith in, but he *cannot* be cured by a remedy that his stomach rejects. This is a strong and effective analogy as it works to stress the visceral nature of religious belief, but it may also be unexpected for Locke to equate one's conscience with one's bodily constitution, rather than with one's rational assent to the efficacy of medicines.[33] In this example, belief in forms of religion or worship is not the same as a purely mental belief in the efficacy of a medicine; rather it

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30 Locke, *Letter Concerning Toleration*, 228.
31 Locke, *Letter Concerning Toleration*, 229.
32 Locke, *Letter Concerning Toleration*, 232.
33 Here, the three examples that Locke had been using – livelihood, health and conscience – appear to fall out of parity. Yet what Locke is doing is likening his reader's conscience not to the farmer of an estate, or to the mind ruling a body, but to the field or body itself. For a discussion of this passage/argument from a theological and philosophical perspective, including some of the contradictions within it, see John Marshall, *John Locke: Resistance, Religion and Responsibility* (Cambridge, 1994), 358-363.

is the same as the automatic, immediate assent or denial your constitution gives to the healing powers of medicines you ingest. Readers of Locke's *Letter* must have considered the particularities of their own constitutions and understood his analogy. If your constitution rejects a certain elixir, no physician will cure you by trying to *force* your constitution to accept it. Locke's example (directly above) is only as gory as he perceives forced religion to be. In the first instance Locke discusses the uselessness of a medicine that a man's stomach instantly rejects (i.e. voids). Yet in the next sentence he has moved on to a scene depicting a physician forcing medicine into the man's throat anyway, so that the man's constitution, which automatically rejected the medicine in a health-preserving reflex, is now forced to endure it and host it in his body as a poison to his constitution.

The medical scenes from Locke's toleration argument illustrate an idea that Locke and some of his contemporaries had about the body and medicine. Note that Locke keeps refering to his example-man's 'particular constitution'. Locke believed that everyone's constitution was different, and that even if a physician had read all of the medical literature in Europe he would still not be able to absolutely judge what would cure each person. In a sense this move democratised therapeutic physic, giving sovereignty to patient experience as an indicator of efficacy. The style of physic Locke came to espouse from around 1667 onwards was one that insisted on a close observation of the patient's reactions – not necessarily their intellectual reactions, but the reactions of their constitutions to any therapy or input.

When Locke moved to London, he became acquainted with Thomas Sydenham, whose *Methodus Curandi Febres* had come out in 1666. Based on practical observation and experience of many cases, Sydenham's book rejected *a priori* hypotheses of disease, particularly those that had been gathered from the untested authority of ancient theorists.[34] Locke accompanied Sydenham on his rounds and they had several mutual acquaintances: Sydenham knew the Ashley household and both men knew Robert Boyle

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[34] 'For most physicians of the period, theoretical concerns were paramount when it came to determining the methods for illness. Sydenham's aim was to turn this attitude around, and make the practical art of restoring people to health the top priority in medicine.' Walmsley, 'John Locke's Natural Philosophy', 80.

and John Mapletoft.[35] Sydenham and Locke produced between them two manuscript essays about medicine: 'Anatomia' (1668) and 'De Arte Medica' (1669). Both of these texts exhibited a preference for practical medicine, a distrust of hypotheses and speculation, and a belief that we can never discover the essence of disease in nature's hidden operations.[36]

There is a passage in 'Anatomia' that echoes with that stomach analogy Locke used in his later toleration writings. Generally, 'Anatomia' argues that anatomy is not going to help physicians cure more people as there are parts of nature so mysterious that no amount of dissection will reveal them: 'though we cut into the inside we see but the outside'.[37] The argument continued to explain that 'after all our porings & mangling the parts of animals we know noething but the grosse parts, see not the tools and contrivances by w^{ch} nature works & are as far off from the discoverys we aime at as ever'.[38] The failure of anatomy to penetrate into an inner realm of workings prevents it from making discoveries about how nature works.

The stomach, with all its mysteries, came into this argument. The anatomist, Locke wrote, would never be able to tell us why it is 'that sugar in some stomachs turns to acidity & milk the most universall & innocent food in the world is to some men as bad as poison.'[39] A man who has 'made anatomicall enquiries into the stomach' and investigated its acids cannot explain why

> it often happens that one who sits to table with a good stomach looses it utterly upon the receit of [good] suddain bad news or any thing that violently stirs up al{...} any passion, *& has noe longer any appetite* though noe body can think that the juice in the stomach is by such [news] *an accident* made lesse acid then it was

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[35] Locke knew Boyle from Oxford and Mapletoft from Westminster. For an older treatment of Sydenham see Donald G. Bates, 'Thomas Sydenham: The Development of his Thought, 1666-1676' (unpublished PhD thesis, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1975).

[36] It was in these texts that Locke first experimented with the image of castles in the air, which he kept with him throughout his life. See Walmlsley, 'John Locke's Natural Philosophy', 101, where he quotes Locke describing speculative principles as 'much like the curious imagery men sometimes see in the clouds, w^{ch} they are pleased to call the heavens, w^{ch} though they are for the most part phantasticall & at best but the accidental contexture of a mist doe yet really hinder the sight & shorten the prospect'. This is discussed further in Chapter Three.

[37] Locke, 'Anatomia' (1668) in Walmsley, 'John Locke's Natural Philosophy', appendix, 221-231; 225. There is debate over the extent to which Locke authored this essay, but it is certain that he had some hand in it. See Walmsley.

[38] 'Anatomia', 224.

[39] 'Anatomia', 230.

> before. There is some thing therefor in the body & the juices too [sm] curious & [sub] fine for us to discerne[40]

This is a description of the kind of thing that Locke thinks that you can never explain via anatomy and dissection, and if you dissected this person's stomach you would never find out why the bad news had made them lose their appetite. You will also never know why some men's stomachs turn milk to 'poison'. *A priori* inquiry into these things was fruitless, and the best that people could do, in terms of health, was to get to know their own constitution and be led by it, just as one should commune with one's conscience and let it show them the way to salvation.

A patient's constitution was a curious thing. As Locke had penned in *De Arte Medica*, and as Sydenham had hinted in numerous places, sometimes the patient owes his recovery 'more to the vigor of his owne constitution then the apothecarys drugs'.[41] Whether you self-medicated or employed the help of others, Locke and Sydenham thought that the only way to work out a good regimen for health was to tread cautiously and test the efficacy of various therapies by careful observation and experiment. This constant examination was the only effective way to quest for health.

This examination of the constitution in the search for health was somewhat like the idea of self-examination of the soul put forward by various Protestant and Puritan advisers of this period. Indeed, some advocates of self-examination had drawn analogies with examination of the body just as Locke had done. Yet it is interesting to think how Locke and Sydenham's disavowal of anatomy reformulated the analogy between soul- and health- searching. Thomas Watson, for example, had written of self-examination as a Christian duty, drawing copious analogy across his works with physic and anatomy:

> Self-searching is a heart-anatomy. As a Chirurgeon, when he makes a dissection in the body, discovers the *intestina*, the inward parts, the heart, liver, and arteries, so a Christian anatomizeth himself; he searcheth what is flesh and what is spirit; what is sin and what is grace.[42]

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[40] 'Anatomia', 229. These are Walmsley's transcription markings whereby [...] denotes deletion and *italics* denotes a marginal insertion. 'Accident' in this context just means 'event' or 'occurrence'.

[41] Locke [?], 'De Arte Medica' in Walmsley, 'John Locke's Natural Philosophy', appendix, 232-240; 239. Likewise, it is unknown to what extent Locke invented this essay or merely penned it for Sydenham. I follow Walmsley in attributing at least collaborative authorship to Locke.

[42] Thomas Watson, *The Christian Soldier, or Heaven Taken by Storm*, (London, 1670), 55-56.

Watson thought that self-examination was 'parleying with one's own heart', but Locke may not have thought that anatomy got you close enough to the truth for that analogy to work. In a sense, in his toleration writings, Locke had used an inverted version of this type of argument, yet he had updated it to include his own analogy with physic. Instead of a chirurgeon dissecting a corpse, Locke used the idea of live patients working out the way to recovery in consort with their constitutions. It both enabled him to show the perversions of intolerant magistracy and matched his genuine views on physic.

ii) *Abscessus*

Locke had described doing Ashley a service 'in that great, and strange disease, when he was opend', by which he meant Ashley's chronic abdominal complaint which flared up into a fully-fledged abscess in 1668. Locke had not been *the opener* himself; that job had been left to a surgeon, but Locke had been an annotator, and had helped to document and communicate the abscess. Ashley's 'disease', the abscess, which existed in his body, seemed to have its own identity, and in some of the literature it generated, doctors and commentators negotiated the gap between the abscess – a putrid infection – and Ashley's public persona as an important politician and aristocrat. As we move through the abscess story, we see the abscess depicted in different types of writing, all of which seem to be on a scale of relation to Ashley's public persona and his biographical chronology. The first kind of notes that were produced pertaining to the abscess were recorded in the form of diary-style entries in the eminent London physician George Ent's hand, which Locke labelled '*Abscessus* L Ashleys case journall 68.'[43] These notes, though perhaps too obscure and detailed to find their way into a biography of Ashley, were the barebones biography of the abscess itself, used to document its daily events, its swellings and fallings, its rupture and its emissions.[44]

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[43] PRO 30/24/47/2 fols.1-2. These are in the same hand as fol.82, which is endorsed by Locke as being from 'S^{r} G Ent'. Though the side of the sheet featuring the endorsement is now stuck down into a mounting book, if you hold the page up to the light it is still visible. Ent had been a close colleague of William Harvey's, writing in support of Harvey's theory of circulation and seeing his *De Generatione* through the press. By 1668 he had risen to a prominent position in the Royal College of Physicians and was well known within both London and European scientific circles, Harold J. Cook, 'George Ent (1604-1689)', *ODNB*.

[44] See Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York, 2007), 236 for an interesting discussion of journals and regimens. 'Just as the private journal helped memory to guarantee the continuity and coherence of the self over time, the observational journal came to the aid of sensation in preserving the coherence of the scientific object'.

The journal tells how, on the afternoon of 12 June 1668, Ashley's abscess was 'opened', following which a 'large quantity of prurulent matter, many bags & skins came away'.[45] 'The like hapned y^e^ next day (being Saturday) both in y^e^ fore & afternoon.' On Sunday morning 'a great quantity of yellow choler gushed out, & two or 3. sluffs', with 'some tollerable matter at y^e^ Latter end'.[46] 'Sluff' is presumably an arcane spelling of 'slough', 'a layer or mass of dead tissue or flesh formed on the surface of a wound, sore, or inflammation'.[47]

On Sunday evening Ent wrote that 'only a little matter came forth. And y^e^ Like on munday both morning & evening.' But 'On Tuesday morning a great quantity of matter came forth, w^th^ many bags, to y^e^ number of at least 80'. That afternoon and on Wednesday the emissions slowed, but 'On Thursday morning we had a new flux, both of matter and skins'. 'A Friday a wax candle [of 4 ¾ inches] was put deepe into y^e^ abscesse: & after y^e^ drawing it out, some matter & divers sluffs succeeded'. 'On Saturday morning ~~drawing out y^e^ candle nothing~~ & evening some matter followed, & about 10 bags'.[48] Each subsequent day a similar entry was made, and on the sixth of July the notes show that a 'small catheter & siphon were put in' but were blocked by several more 'sluffs'.[49] On the seventh 'more yellow matter run in y^e^ night', and on the ninth this was joined by 'a considerable quantity of yellow atheromatous matter'.[50] This word, made from the Greek root *athare*, insinuated 'matter resembling oatmeal-gruel or curds.'[51] *Purulent matter*, *bags*, *skins*, *sluffs*, *yellow matter*, *atheromatous matter*; these words, which may sound vague at first reading, were being used to carefully chart the development of the abscess and the exact quality of its discharges.

These English notes run to the end of July. The case journal was vital for day-to-day comparisons of health, and for accurately documenting and preserving the events of the illness in their correct temporal sequence; it is the history of an individual item carefully observed and monitored. The story of the abscess was also covered by a series of Latin

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45 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.1. 'Purulent matter' is matter resembling or containing pus, *OED*.
46 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.1.
47 *OED*.
48 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.1. Wax candles were regularly used in medicine for the purpose of clearing passages, as shown in *Thomas Willis's Oxford Casebook*, ed. Dewhurst (Oxford, 1981), 143.
49 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.1v.
50 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.2.
51 *OED*.

notes in Locke's hand labelled 'Abscessus Hepatis, Obs. 68'.[52] Locke's document gave a brief history of the case from the end of May, and then made entries which followed the daily structure and content of Ent's 'case journal', using the Latin 'flavis tum vesiculis tum humore' for yellow matter, bags and liquid, and 'effluxit purilenta miscella ~~in quo~~ foetidissima' to show that the abscess ran a purulent, foetid matter.[53] Locke's document, which also included occasional detail of the recipes for injections, extended the case journal to November 1668, though beyond July the entries were sparse.

In late August or early September, various communications were initiated regarding the metal drainage tube that had been inserted into Ashley's cavity. A list of twelve succinct questions, voiced from Lord Ashley regarding the management of the mechanism, was issued to five physicians. The physicians; George Ent, Timothy Clarke, Francis Glisson, Thomas Sydenham and Locke himself, who presumably had all viewed the orifice and pipe (or at least read the case journal and observations), responded to the queries logistically, thinking about Ashley's holes and angles, and the various *matters* that flowed about them.[54] Whereas the daily journal had recorded events only as they occurred, these queries were very cautiously prognostic, looking to the future to consider how Ashley's abscess-orifice could co-exist with Ashley the public man.

Question one asked: 'Which is most advisable to resolve to keepe it constantly open, or to heale it up as soone as conveniently may be?'[55] Francis Glisson answered that 'It seems most convenient to keepe it open, at least, till such time as it ceases to run from wthin the peritoneum'.[56] Dr. Clarke, on the other hand, thought otherwise, writing 'Considering the position of the orifice to the cavity, and the cavity now tending downewards amongst the Muscles of the Abdomen, it might be adviseable enough to heal it up'.[57] George Ent wrote that he would 'heale it up, as soon as convenient [...] Lest otherwise y^{e} ulcer grow fowler, & more contamacious; & at last, turne to a fistula'.[58] When applied to diseases,

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52 PRO 30/24/47/2, fols.19-30.
53 PRO 30/24/47/2, fols.20v-21.
54 Harold J. Cook, 'George Ent (1604-1689)' and 'Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689)'; Guido Giglioni, 'Francis Glisson (1599-1677)'; Gordon Goodwin rev. Michael Bevan, 'Timothy Clarke (?-1672)', all *ODNB*.
55 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.16.
56 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.3; Peritoneum: 'In mammals: the serous membrane that lines the walls of the abdominal cavity and the undersurface of the diaphragm, and covers most of the abdominal viscera', *OED*.
57 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.8.
58 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.82.

'contumacious' meant 'not readily yielding to treatment, stubborn', but the word also meant 'contemning and obstinately resisting authority; stubbornly perverse, insubordinate, rebellious'. The question was about whether the abscess was going to rebel against both treatment and host and turn into a fistula: a festering pipe or flute shaped canal in Ashley's abdomen.[59] These more pessimistic answers saw the abscess taking over Ashley's constitution, curtailing his life.

Sydenham was with Glisson, and wrote 'I conceave itt by noe meanes saff for his Lordshipp to stopp up the abscess triall once having been made of the unsuccessfullness of drieng it & the flux of matter as yett seeming too much in proportion to the Canale.'[60] Sydenham seems to have had a critical response to one section of the diary notes, and continued 'And I judge it better to keepe it open with a silver pipe then a wax candle, in regard that from the use of a candle the matter will have the less opportunity to issue out & consequently the passage choake up'.[61] Sydenham thought that the orifice should be allowed to run freely, without being blocked. Locke, whose hand endorsed all of these answers thought: 'It is better to heale it up as soone as it may safely be donne. Because it is not convenient to have a constant issue of that depth in that place if it might be remedied.'[62]

Question six asked whether injections should be used, and Glisson said that yes, they would sometimes be 'requisite', and that 'The form of the injection last used seemes sufficient'.[63] Clarke was more cautious, writing that 'Injections to cleanse it may be used if the ulcer grow fouler, otherwise considering the position of the cavity I would forbear them.' Sydenham, on the other hand, wrote against the idea, saying he considered it 'very unsaff to use injections of any sort' because some of the liquor from the injections was likely to reside in smaller cavities of the abscess and cause further corrosion.[64] Sydenham prescribed two drinks (a 'stronge liquor' and a 'smaller liquor') for Ashley to take, appending the ingredients to his answers.[65] Locke thought that injections should be avoided in hot weather, but that in cold weather a warming injection might be

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59 Fistula: 'a long, narrow, suppurating canal of morbid origin in some part of the body; a long, sinuous pipe-like ulcer with a narrow orifice', *OED*.
60 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.10.
61 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.10.
62 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.12. The answers, in Locke's hand, are endorsed 'JL 68'
63 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.16, fol.3.
64 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.10.
65 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.10v.

administered, and other weekly injections to prevent the growth of a fistula.[66] Some of Sydenham's suggestions are tantalisingly, mechanically intuitive, and he recommends that the matter will be evacuated more quickly if Ashley lies on his left side with his upper body low. Sydenham imagines literally tipping Ashley out, and Locke's noble patron is, recurrently throughout this archive, described as a very mechanical affair; a sum of bags and effusions and pipes and cavities.[67]

Question twelve queried the impact that the behaviour of the ulcer would have on Ashley's general bodily constitution.[68] The prospect has broadened, in this question, to include the whole of Ashley's physique, yet it was still referred to as 'the body' rather than 'Lord Ashley'. The question asked 'Whether if it [the cavity] should be always kept open, it is not to be feared, that a constant flux of matter from it, espetially if it should continue to be of any considerable quantity, may very much weaken & emaciate the body; and how to be prevented?' The physicians had some practical suggestions (from Sydenham came the suggestion of a diet to make Ashley 'plumpe & vigorouse'), but Clarke wrote that 'If it should continue long and runne much it must emaciate and weaken the whole body'.[69] Locke wrote that with the right management 'the flux will rather advantage than injure the health & strength of the body', yet Ent emphasised that if the right programme was not obeyed, the 'Long running of y^{e} Ulcer' may emaciate Ashley's body, 'especially, if a thin gleet issue thence, instead of Laudable matter'.[70] Was the pipe transporting valuable bodily energy outwards, or was it helpfully siphoning away bad matter?

Most of the questions that Ashley sent out were practical, and betrayed his eagerness to get back to work rather than any pain or misery he may have suffered. As an active politician, Ashley wanted advice on how he could be patched up and sent back to Parliament. Question nine, which asked 'Whether I may ~~boule~~ travell in a coach, rid on horsback, boule or use any such exercise safely with a pipe in of this length?' came closer to addressing Ashley the man, which seemed to have the effect of making the answers a

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66 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.12.
67 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.10.
68 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.16.
69 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.10v, fol.9.
70 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.12v, fol.82. Gleet: 'A morbid discharge of thin liquid from a wound, ulcer, etc', *OED*. 'Laudible' is presumably used to imply a healthy discharge.

little more polite.[71] Referring to Ashley's status, Glisson replied 'His honour may travell eyther by coach or on horseback, or boule or use other ordinary exercises if it be kept wthout a pipe: but not wth a pipe'.[72] Clarke, also, was hesitant about the idea, but not entirely forbidding: 'The only danger is, it may sometimes soe grate that it may cause little bleeding, which if it be not forced by too much violence nor too often repeated, can be of little danger'.[73] Ent thought that exercise would be permissible if the pipe was 'proportion'd to y^{e} depth of y^{e} Ulcer' and put 'no force upon y^{e} inward parts of y^{e} Liver'.[74] Sydenham, who thought the pipe should be shortened, considered Ashley to be 'liable to dangerouse accidents from any unequall motion of the body, which in process of time may easilye happen from riding in a Coach, stouping or the like'.[75] Locke's own thoughts were that 'Travell or exercise with a ~~pipe~~ ^tent^ of wax, or any such matter as will resist the closeing of the sides but be pliant to the motions of the body, may be not only safe but usefull.'[76] In their responses to this question some of the physicians seemed to consider the pipe antagonistic to the motions of the body, whereas some thought it could be synchronised with the body, by being made 'pliant to the motion of the body', as Locke suggested, or 'proportion'd to y^{e} depth of y^{e} Ulcer'.

Ashley seemed able to imagine his body incorporating the new appliance, and he had considered the benefits of his body adapting to the pressure of the pipe on the sides of his orifice. Question ten asked 'Whether if it be kept long open nature will not in time, soe fortifie the parts about the end of the pipe, as to make the danger it may bring by rubing upon them in any exercise, very little, or none at all?'[77] Glisson responded that 'There may in time gather a kind of coate about the passage; but as I conceyve not sufficient to secure the liver from the dangers before named'.[78] Glisson had expressed fears about the pipe bruising the liver, and he continued in response to number ten: 'the coate will be plyable and yeeldinge, and so the body of the liver may be so hurt by the pipe notwthstandinge the coate betwixt it and that. Only the hurt will not be so easily made in tracte of time as at present'.[79] Clarke wrote that he 'should be sorry for such a

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71 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.16.
72 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.3.
73 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.8v.
74 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.82.
75 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.10.
76 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.12v.
77 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.16.
78 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.3.
79 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.3.

fortification because any callosity in ulcers renders them harder to be cured'.[80] Locke could foresee 'the parts accomodateing them selves to the figure of the pipe', and Ent thought that the parts would become 'lesse sensible of a customary inconvenience'.[81] This question was both technical and personal, as the physicians alluded to Ashley's life expectancy by considering whether the ulcer-cavity would become sustainable 'in tracte of time' / 'in the long keeping of it open' / 'in time'.

Each man's individual response – though reasonably brief – seems to provide a considered therapeutic regime, and each ties his answers to questions one to twelve together to ensure that they are compatible and cross-referencing. One can see how these reports could be used as a database of expertise. It is worth noting the reputations of the men who gave this advice. Ent was a well-known physician and censor of the Royal College of Physicians; Glisson was a student of Harvey's and later dedicated his *De Natura Substantiae Energetica, Seu, De Vita Naturae* (1672) to Ashley. He had specialised in the liver, and in 1654 had published *Anatomia Hepatis*, which made him an ideal candidate to advise in this situation. Glisson's work emphasised the lymphatic system, which he claimed that his student George Joyliffe had discovered. Joyliffe's friend, Timothy Clarke – presumably the Dr. Clarke advising Ashley here – wrote an essay in *Philosophical Transactions* in 1668 also claiming that Joyliffe had done initial experiments on the lymphatic system.[82] These physicians specialised in organs and bodily systems, and the very format of the twelve questions that they answered complemented a discussion of Ashley's particular abscess with its particular journalised history and its particular projected future.

Another group of texts that were collected into the abscess archive offered another genre of information. This second batch of texts, collected in the autumn of 1668, related the stories of analogous abscesses, including details about the behaviour of other men's abscesses, embedded in little vignettes from those men's lives. As Ashley's case journal had depicted his abscess using the terms *Purulent matter*, *bags*, *skins*, *sluffs*, *yellow matter*, *atheromatous matter*, these men's stories featured specific sets of vocabulary to describe their abscesses, some of which was fairly similar to Ashley's set.

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80 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.8v.
81 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.12v, fol.82.
82 Cook, 'George Ent (1604-1689)'; Gigloni, 'Francis Glisson (1599-1677)'; Goodwin rev. Bevan, 'Timothy Clarke (?-1672)', *ODNB*.

On 26 October, Thomas Strickland wrote Gilbert Talbot a letter that was passed into the Ashley archive.[83] He had taken up his pen as the result of a convoluted train of events, as he explained: 'coming to yorke yesterday' he had found one of Talbot's letters 'to M[r] Aldbrowgh, desiring a perfeckt accompte from him, of a story as yow supposed by him told'.[84] Strickland takes ownership of the story, saying that it was originally his. He gladly repeats it 'for the satisfacktion of ~~Ashley~~ My L[d] Ashley, to whome by particular obligations, I ^am^ bound to pay all the servise I am capable of ~~paiing~~ rendring, ether to his satisfacktion, or advantaige therefor shall give yow in short this trew narrative'.[85] After these vows of obligation and service to Ashley, he includes the story in the body of his letter:

> a poor neighbor of mine fell into a great languishing with a great paine in his side and stomack, which continewed for a year or 2, and when nothing but death was expeckted by the Neighbourhood, a great swelling rise in his side, with infinit torment, which paine, made him send for a neighbo[r] who had a penknife, that poor villaige not affording, a better instrument, or a person more skillfull for incision

Not one to mince his words, Strickland gets to the impressive point:

> in short they cut him, upon the head of the sweling, im*m*ediately theire caime owt severall blethers (att the first cutting) like winde egs ^some^ as big as turky egs others as hen egs [86]

The cavity was kept open, 'or rather kept it selfe open' for a year, Strickland continues, 'in which time theire wrought owt about 400*l.* of thes ~~winde~~ blathers'. After a little more detail the story ends abruptly, with news that 'after this, the man recovered to a perfect health."[87]

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[83] PRO 30/24/47/2, fols.4-5, dated 26 October.
[84] PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.4.
[85] PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.4.
[86] PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.4. Wind-egg: 'an imperfect or unproductive egg, esp. one with a soft shell, such as may be laid by hens and other domestic birds'; 'Blathers' are presumably bladders: 'A membranous bag in the animal body', both *OED*. In ancient medicine, wind eggs or *hupenemia* were traditionally eggs that were 'seemingly produced without the power of the male but that are consequently not fertile.' Thomas Walter Laquer, *Making Sex* (Cambrigde, Mass. and London, 1990), 58. The term 'wind egg' originated from the idea of eggs which birds laid without male fertilization, which were perhaps instead fertilized by the wind, W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion: A Study of the Orphic Movement* (Princeton, 1993), 94.
[87] PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.4.

This may or may not have been formulated from the same source as the letter Thomas Banks sent, describing the particulars of James Oddye's case.[88] Oddye had suffered from paine in his side 'for the moste of twenty yeares', and when he was 'aboute forty yeares' 'it grew very ill & raise to a great swellinge halfe as much as ones head'. '[H]e was earneste wth me to Cutt it', Banks continued, 'I not beinge experyenced was fearefull yit by his importance did cut it' From the swelling came forth

> much corruption and bladders to the quaintity of one quarte of the largenes of wallnuts and some greater and some lesser the greatest sorte had little ones wthin them as though it were the sedes of Lemmons the greateste full of thick Matter the lesse full of thiner Matter the greatest the skins was as thick as the skin of a ~~Sheepes~~ lambs mouth [?] wthoute and rough and white within

In this account, Oddye is described as continually unwell and he continued to excrete the bladders for years, though the report adds that he did get some relief from a doctor and had travelled to Dublin 'and was livenge there this summer'. During the course of his illness he 'let one Doctor Vadcoe whoe was then at S^{r} Rob*er*te Strickland see some of those Bladders when he had new voyded them'. This doctor took the case to the 'College' in London, 'but it was a riddle to them all'.[89] The story of Oddye was backed up by another letter from T: Bateson – a much shorter letter – which began 'I can very well remember James Oddy of Helperby out of whose side was often vented much matter like fish skins & whites of egges'. But, in this short letter, the other aspects of the case are lost from Bateson's mind, and he wrote 'when y^{e} ulcer was growne up or otherwise stopt, I oft administred to him but w^{t} I remember not it is long since, & in w^{t} condition he is I know not now'.[90]

One record of what seems to be a different case is also extant, from Jo: Arnold, endorsed by Locke 'Dawsons Case 68'.[91] '[H]is disease was a foule stinking Ulcer in the Lungs', the letter-writer explained: 'I say stinking, for all his expectorations were extreamely

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[88] PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.7, dated 6 November 1668. Locke uses the spelling 'Oddie' in his endorsement.
[89] PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.7. The Strickland of the letters about James Oddie may have been Sir Thomas Strickland of Boynton (near York), from the same family of Walter Strickland, the interregnum MP; 'Dr Vadcoe' may be Alexius Vodka, one of a family of Polish doctors based at York. John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660-1668* (Cambridge, 1973), 21. See John Callow, 'Thomas Strickland (1682-1740)', *ODNB* which contains mention of another Strickland (1621-1694).
[90] PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.39.
[91] PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.6, dated York, 24 September 1668.

offensive, the roome so tainted, that indeed it was not to bee breath'd in without great prejudice.' He was seen by 'many eminent Artists' and considered 'incurable, and not to live a month longer'. As soon as Arnold was called, he saw that 'the disease was plaine, and showing itself,' he knew there was 'no way but one to save him'. '[B]y opening his side' Arnold managed to save the patient, and the man was now able to 'performe all businesses [...] he was ever capable of'.[92]

These analogous stories may have helped with a long-term prognosis; Oddye's illness occurred many years previously, and the fact that he was still alive proved hopeful.[93] Perhaps Ashley was trying to forecast his life expectancy. Gathered together, these cases had the spirit of a modest natural history. The *blathers* and *bladders*, with their esoteric size labels, could be likened to Ashley's bags and skins. The surgical action of opening was the same. Knowledge of many like cases enabled a better perspective on any one individual case.

In late 1668, Locke sent Ashley's case to an abbot in Angers, a man named by one of Locke's endorsements as 'A Monsieur L'Abbé de <...> Beaupreau a Angers'.[94] This document treated Ashley's abscess in a different textual format to the case journal or the twelve-question list. The exchange that Locke had with Beaupreau was not quite like the reports of Oddye's abscess, either, as it was much more formal. Beaupreau was being consulted by post and because of his distance and his status the missive was crafted in a specific way.[95] The letter dealt with both the abscess, and Ashley as Baron Ashley of Wimborne St. Giles, interleaving the chronologies of both.

At some point during the proceedings, Locke had written up a formal version of the case, in Latin, headed 'Casus noblissi*mus* viri domini Antoniis Ashley Baronis de Winburne St Giles etc', and this is likely to have been the version he sent to Beaupreau.[96]

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92 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.6.
93 The same writer who describes Oddye's illness as striking when he was about forty, ends the letter with a hurried postscript which tells that 'he is now about 50 years owld', PRO 30/24/47/2 fol.7v.
94 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.18v.
95 Wayne Wild makes some points that apply to Locke's letters to Briolay in *Medicine-by-Post* (Amsterdam and New York, 2006), 7-16; especially 8: 'In crucial ways, the experience of being sick is a social construct shaped by rhetoric. Popular conceptions about illness conjoin with prevailing medical discourse to generate a common language – a rhetoric that shapes the patient's experience as much as it describes it.'
96 PRO 30/24/47/2, fols.14-15. I presume this from Briolay's response.

He started the piece with Ashley's background, identifying Ashley as a nobleman, aged forty-five, with a delicate constitution and a history of jaundice. The first section offered a long prospect on Ashley's health, explaining that he had hosted the tumour for over a decade, and that it had, in the past, been misdiagnosed as a malformed liver by prestigious members of the London College. Locke wrote that Ashley suspected the whole illness to have been catalysed by over-exertion in the mid-1650s, after which he found the economy of his body much altered.

He explains that his patron had found some benefit from using spa waters, but that in May 1668 the abscess had developed. At this point Locke accelerated the narrative, beginning – from 'Circa finem mensis Maii 1668' – to go through Ashley's developments in a temporal sequence, working from his 'Observation' notes, yet recasting the content of them into a more formal, fluent narrative. He described Ashley's initial grave illness and how he was purged by Dr. Glisson, and given jaundice-calming and 'chalybeat' (steel) medicines. Despite these measures, Ashley remained vomiting and agitated, and eventually a swelling – 'magnitudine ovi Gallina Africana' – the size of a Guinea-hen's egg, became apparent.[97] On 12 June, after an oral symposia of physicians and surgeons, an incision was made in Ashley's abdomen, and Locke tells of how the opened abscess 'effluxit sanies foetidiss*ima*' – ran stinking, purulent matter.[98]

The letter that Locke sent to Beaupreau with Ashley's medical case is rhetorical and formal, cleverly making links with the abbot by using certain tools of politeness. It begins 'I have recounted the particulars with complete fidelity and as briefly as I could...'[99] '[Y]et', Locke continued, 'it was to be wished that a narrator could have been found who was worthier of such a theme and so eminent a reader.' Locke set himself up as inadequate, in terms of status and skill. Just as the worthy subjects and recipients of portraits, poems, prologues and epitaphs require worthy smiths of those trades, Locke

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[97] Here we see Locke employing the same measurement of eggs, as used by the correspondents in reference to Oddie's case (in Locke's case that of a *Gallina Africana*), to describe the size of the tumour. It is interesting to note that Locke, someone who was at points in his life fascinated by measurements and the translatability of measurements, participated in exchanges based on so little apparent precision. The remedies in Locke's archive are often based on formally rationed medicines, but the physical observations and descriptions of symptoms often use imagery based on assumed common cultural approximations. Yet the language used, although it is not mathematically precise, is what makes the cases seem analogous, and so it serves the purpose of precision in some ways.

[98] PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.14v.

[99] L.230, Locke to de Beaupreau, 1668 (Latin).

insinuated that he was not adequate to write a description of Ashley the man. It is the patron-client relationship that Locke uses to structure the power of this letter, alongside the physician-patient dynamic.

'For although the dismal affairs of the sick can easily dispense with flowers and ornaments of rhetoric,' Locke continued, 'when undertaking to address one so notable for learning and holding such a high office, a more elegant and polished style would have been fitting.' Affectively tussling with the discrepancy between the generic conventions governing his medical role and the grandeur of his theme and audience, he continued:

> And indeed I would scarcely presume to put in your hands, most illustrious sir, the coarsely woven fabric of speech in which the subject of this abscess is awkwardly wrapped, unless there were reason to hope that he who condescends to turn his mind from the higher studies to which it is accustomed to medical observations may also be willing to pardon one dealing with medical matters in the manner customary for physicians.[100]

There is something obscene in this gesture and the image it creates: that of putting the subject of Ashley's foetid abscess, awkwardly-wrapped in 'coarse fabric', into Briolay's 'illustrious' hand. Yet, Physicians, Locke writes, 'so long as the body is sound and whole are not concerned for its adornment, and whilst providing health have little care for elegance.' He finishes off by finally styling the case as appropriate in other ways: 'Moreover any deficiency in my unskilled pen will be amply compensated by the rank of the patient as well as the novelty of the case, since you may find some intellectual interest in the malady, and in the patient what is agreeable to your own position, and in both possibly some matter for surprise.'[101] This letter is very clever because of its double-sided rhetoric. Locke simultaneously apologises for his crude writing style while confirming that it is a style completely proper and conventional for a doctor. He flatters Beaupreau as someone illustrious enough to deserve better language and more adornment, but on the other hand as someone learned enough to read 'medical matters' in their native form. Locke had sent the perfect package: a formal Latin, yet unadorned, case history; both open and wrapped.

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[100] L.230.
[101] L.230.

The irony in the Abbé's response is that he cannot actually write Latin himself.[102] His reply is endorsed (by a hand other than Locke's yet the same as that of the main script) 'Monsieur de Beaupreaux his letter to Mr Browne translated into English', and then endorsed again by Locke with 'Beaupre Apr. 69 L[d] Ashleys case'. In the text of his letter proper, the Abbé admired the case. 'I have read over and over with an extraordinary satisfaction the relation you were pleased to send me of my Lord Aschley's sicknes'.[103] He compliments the writer as much as the *methodus* itself, writing 'I can hardly determine my selfe whether I ought to admire more in it the wise and timely proceedings of my Lords Physitians, or the exactnes of the author of the relation both for the elegancy of his stile, & his judicious remarkes with which he hath illustrated his narrative'.[104] Beaupreau recognises that he himself flaunts convention, and apologises for it. He is an old man:

> I must needs say, though it be to my owne confusion, that I am not able to give M[r] Locke thanks with my owne penne for this favour, & his particular expressions of civility to myself towards the latter end of his relation; but must desire him to be contented to receive my just acknowledgement thereof by your mediation: which favour I hope you will not refuse me, because having ended ^my^ divinity studies in the yeare 1626 I have not since exercised my self in writing the Latin tongue: which upon this occasion would be absolutely necessary, for me in order to the compliance both with my duty & inclination therein[105]

Locke's eulogiser Le Clerc had written that Ashley 'not only took him [Locke] into his library and closet' but also brought him into contact with 'noblemen of great wit and learning'.[106] The sentiment of this is right, but the situation was subtler. Ashley let Locke see, handle and write about the inner recesses of his abdomen, and Locke, by knowing how to do so, found favour in this case. The abscess became a point of contact, generating a communicative sphere.

The trust that Locke's writing structured between these men freed Beaupreau to remark on Ashley's physicality in a blunt manner, and his letter continues, turning from the case-writer to the case itself.

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102 PRO 30/24/47/2, fols.40-1. L.231, de Beaupreau to Browne, April 1669 (English).
103 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.40. L.231.
104 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.40. L.231.
105 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.40. L.231.
106 Le Clerc from Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics*, 84.

> Now as for my Lords disease. I shall content my selfe only to make this remarke, that his body must needs have beene extremely foule; when his distemper came to its full maturity, which having been a long while a growing (with submission to better judgments) I conceive might have been prevented with seasonable purgative medicines. His often vomitings & soe many hundred bagges full of corrupt matter, which were taken out of his side were sufficient proof of this truth.[107]

The disease being started, though, and the cavity made, it would now be – Beaupreau believes – 'a madnes to shut up the Ulcer'. The last part of the letter details the remedies that the abbot would try, as he says that he has managed 'like cases' before. He recommends a treatment of purgatives combined with a topical remedy, which should be used until the pipe stops running matter, at which point the pipe should be removed.[108] When Briolay wrote that Ashley's 'body must needs have beene extremely foule' he meant foul in the sense of organically putrid and noxious: simply 'tainted with disease'. Briolay and Locke were able to discuss Ashley's festering interior without tainting the idea of his noble persona. There is a sense that the coarse fabric of Locke's speech forms a protective safety cover over the abscess and all its related putrescence.

iii) 'Tapski'

As leader of the nascent Whig party, Ashley had antagonised the sickly king Charles II in the early 1680s by presenting indictments against the Duke of York as a popish recusant and by pushing a suggestion for the Protestant Monmouth as successor to the crown, all the while stimulating the Corporation of London to force Charles to Parliament.[109] He was jailed in the Tower for high treason in May 1681, and he offered to retire to his estates in the English countryside, or to Carolina, where he was one of the Lords Proprietors and a guiding force in colonisation. Refusing these offers, Charles decided to have Ashley tried in court, where he was accused of wanting to turn England into a commonwealth (the jury notoriously returned a verdict of *ignoramus*).[110] With Charles's health wavering, Shaftesbury, Monmouth and others began meeting to plan rebellions, upping hostilities to the point where Ashley preferred to leave the country in November 1682, landing at the Brill on the 26th of that month and dying shortly afterwards at Amsterdam. With public festivities upon his release from the Tower, and a widespread

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107 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.40. L.231.
108 PRO 30/24/47/2, fol.41. L.231.
109 Tim Harris, 'Anthony Ashley Cooper (1621-1683)', *ODNB*.
110 Literally 'we do not know', meaning insufficient evidence.

commentary in the popular press, Ashley had been much in the public eye.[111] The metal tap in Ashley's side, which must have been visible on occasions, was to become a focus for satirists, particularly in the period leading up to his death. Whereas above we saw Locke and others treating the abscess and tap discretely from Ashley's persona, in the early 1680s Tory pamphleteers linked the putrescence of his abscess to the putrescence of his politics.

Sometimes dubbed the 'King of Poland' because of his religious perspective and his link with Polish Socinians like the Crell family, Cooper appeared in cheap pamphlets as 'Tapski' or sometimes 'Count Tapski', the satirists taking a mock-Polish ending to his already mocking nickname.[112] *A Modest Vindication of the Earl of S_____y: In a Letter to a Friend Concerning his being Elected King of Poland* (1681) derided Ashley's slight physique and evoked his tap in this striking image:

> It is not to be imagined how this little *Grigg* was transported with the thoughts of growing into a *Leviathan* he fancy'd himself the *Picture* before *Hobb*'s Commonwealth already, nay he stopt up his Tap (as I am told) on purpose that his Dropsy might swell him bigg enough for His Majesty...[113]

The image on the front of Hobbes' *Leviathan* depicted an artificial person made up of many smaller natural persons who were shown inside the humanoid body of the figurative commonwealth. The idea of Ashley stopping up his pipe to swell to Leviathan's dimensions conjures a sophisticated (and revolting) image, whereby Ashley can be imagined as a fake public person, in whom the space normally allocated for natural persons is instead full of putrid build-ups of liquid.[114]

Gilbert Burnet was conjured for one pamphlet, *Dr. B---ts Farewell, Confessor to the Late King of Poland upon his Translation to the Sey of Hungary* (1683). In this pamphlet the fake voice of Burnet assured the reader that 'the Act for crying Milk and Mackarel on Sundays was

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111 For Locke's involvement in Ashley's campaign at this time see Marshall, *Resistance, Religion and Responsibility*, 40-54.
112 Martin Mulsow, 'The "New Socinians": Intertextuality and Cultural Exchange in Late Socinianism' in Mulsow and Jan Rohls, ed., *Socinianism and Arminianism: Antitrinitarians, Calvinists and Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth Century Europe* (Leiden, 2005), 49-78; 61-64.
113 Anon, *A Modest Vindication of the Earl of S_____y: In a Letter to a Friend Concerning His Being Elected King of Poland* (London, 1681), 2.
114 See Hobbes, *Leviathan* frontispiece. Also Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge, 1997), 388-389 for a discussion of the image.

Voted a Nusance as a Violation of the Sabbath; Milk, because the children at that time were bred up to the Tap from whence they suck't their first Rudiments of Rebellion. And Mackarel, because the Rebbels had other Fish to Fry.'[115] The 'Tap' was Ashley's tap, and this pamphlet conjured images of him suckling young rebels from its spout.

The Last Will and Testament of Anthony King of Poland (1682) began with an allusion to the drainage pipe:

> *MY Tap is run*; then *Baxter* tell me why
> Should not the *good*, the great *Potapskie* die?
> Grim *Death*, who lays us all upon our backs,
> Instead of *Scyth*, doth now advance his *Ax*:[116]

This mock-will inventoried Shaftesbury's items: his soul, his '*Polish Crown*', his '*Association*', his 'Brace of *Whores*, / Long kept to draw the humours from my *Sores*; / For you they'll serve as well as *Silver Tap*, / For Women give, and sometimes cure a Clap'. To co-conspirator Grey 'Ashley' left 'the *Knife* with which I cut my Corns'; to Titus Oates, his ears, 'For he, 'tis thought, will shortly lose his *own*'. [117] On the list were Ashley's teeth, tongue and '*Squinting Eyes*'. Ashley's body is ceremoniously separated and distributed, and the 'Ashley' character continues to request that this 'Quarters stand not on City Gate / Least they new *Sects* and Factions do create', and to proclaim that he leaves Charles II 'the *Carcass* of my *Plot*'.[118] The poem finishes 'And if my Bowels in the Earth find room, / Then *let these lines be Writ upon their Tomb*', and is followed by an epitaph upon Ashley's bowels.

> YE *Mortal Whigs* for Death prepare,
> For mighty Tapski's *Guts* lie here,
> Will his great *Name* keep *sweet*, d'y' think! [sic]
> For certainly his *Entrals* stink.[119]

Dagon's Fall, or the Whigs lamentation for the death of Anthony, king of Poland (1683) remembered his particular medical apparatus:

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115 Anon, *Dr. B---t's Farewell, Confessor to the Late King of Poland, upon his Translation to the Sey of Hungary* (London?, 1683), 2.
116 Anon, *The Last Will and Testament of Anthony King of Poland* (London, 1682), 1.
117 Anon, *Last Will and Testament*, 2.
118 Anon, *Last Will and Testament*, 3.
119 Anon, *Last Will and Testament*, 3.

A TAP in's side he bore,
To broach all sorts of Ill,
For which Seditious Store
The Croud ador'd him Still:
He spit his Venom through the Town,
With which the Saints possest,
Would preach and prate
Gainst Church and State,
While He perform'd the rest.[120]

As Ashley fell from favour, the tap became a conduit of sedition and its discharge – along with the rest of his innards – became politically poisonous; the once health-giving contraption managed by Locke had become, in the hands of these pamphleteers, an emblem of civic sleaze. The idea of Ashley stopping up his pipe to bloat to the size of Hobbes's leviathan, or suckling rebel-bred children from it, shows how prominent and distinctive the apparatus must have been, and how it was attractive as scurrilous fodder. The pamphlets imagined Ashley's innards spilling through his ingenious method for the preservation and conservation of health back out into the public realm. The most famous Ashley satire, Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681) imagined Ashley's 'fiery Soul, which working out its way / Fretted the Pigmy Body to decay: / And o'r inform'd the Tenement of Clay.'[121] There was a sense that Ashley's clay cottage, his earthly tabernacle, had been overwhelmed by inner pressure. In all of the 'Tapski' literature, Ashley's private abscess, which we first saw described by Locke in that straightforward language of accounting free from moral implication, became loaded with public import, and Ashley became, in the Tapski pamphlets, a large figure of public illness.

iv) Carolina

Ashley's involvement in Carolina was expanding as Locke joined his household in the late 1660s, and as he was working in Ashley's office, Locke saw the venture develop. As the colony evolved in these early days and strove to change into a sustainable, populated settlement, it too had issues of health: firstly, whether it was a naturally healthy place judged by the soil, fruits, weather and other productions; secondly, whether the new settlers could stay healthy there; and thirdly – and perhaps most importantly – whether it

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120 Anon, *Dagon's Fall, or The Whigs Lamentation for the Death of Anthony, King of Poland to the Tune of Philander, &c.* (London, 1683), 1.
121 John Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel, a Poem* (London, 1681), 6. Christopher Ricks calls this a 'corporeal triplet', Ricks, 'Dryden's Triplets' in Steven N. Zwicker, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Dryden* (Cambridge, 2004), 92-110; 94.

could project an image of health salubrious enough to tempt potential European migrants to sign up to one of the resettlement deals on offer. Locke famously used the image of 'new' America and the 'Indians' to formulate his argument on property in his *Second Treatise of Government*, yet details about the actual papers he saw and handled in Ashley's American archive are less well known. As early as 1669 we see the shadow of Locke's presence in Ashley's colonial archive.[122] He appears to have been filing and labelling the many papers entering Exeter House from the various other Lords Proprietors in the Americas; 'Articles between y^e^ Proprietors 26° Apr. 69' Locke wrote on one.[123] Some of the documents are lists of supplies and men, but many are narrative accounts of the actions of the Carolina Council's actions, accomplishments and requirements, the latter of which were pressing in 1670 as initial stocks of supplies dwindled and mishaps occurred. Whereas the Ashley in the 'Tapski' pamphlets became a towering figure of public illness, in the promotional pamphlets of the 1680s, Carolina endeavoured to become a public emblem of health and prosperity.

The Carolina Council wrote regular letters back to Ashley regarding the settlement of the banks of 'Ashley River', a name still applied to one of the main waterways in what we now call South Carolina. The other main river is called 'Cooper River', also after Lord Ashley, and these rivers supported the first major settlement, 'Charles Town' (or Charleston), the site of which was moved in 1680. Ashley was embedded in the geography. A few years after the abscess was opened, Locke found himself dealing with paperwork relating to the health of the geographical 'Ashley', on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. A great flurry of paperwork came into Exeter House, dense in information and regularity. I am going to show how these dense reports were trimmed down by Locke to reveal certain facets of the new land, so it is necessary to start at the dense end, offering the reader a taste of these narrative accounts before showing what

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122 PRO 30/24/48 is in three parts. This section makes use of part 1 of this archive box, which contains similar material pertaining to earlier dates than part 3. Part 2 is Ashley's letter-book. The page-numbering system of these loose, unbound papers is a mess, with more than three numbers to choose from. The numbers used in my references refer to the numbers on the top right hand of each folio.

123 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.28v. The eight original proprietors were Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, father in law of the future James II and lord chancellor 1661-7; George Monck, Duke of Albermarle, lord of the treasury to 1670; Ashley who had been variously chancellor of the exchequer (1671-2), lord chancellor (1672-3) and lord president (1679); Sir George Carteret, treasurer of the navy 1660-1667; William Earl of Craven and John Lord Berkeley, both esteemed members of the military; Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia 1660-1676; and Sir John Colleton, a planter from Barbados. Bertrand van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden, the Hugenots and their Migration to Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia, South Carolina, 2006), 26-27.

happened to them. The letters themselves illustrate the fragility and general tempo of the new settlements, and the dynamic between Ashley and the nascent plantations.

In the Council's reports, opinion and fact intertwine; each report retained its own character yet also functioned as a meaningful report on the settled areas. Joseph West, who was prospecting the Carolina coast, wrote to Ashley from 'Barbadoes' on 8 November 1669.[124] He wrote that the weather had been extreme ('itt blew hard'), that several of the vessels allocated for the voyage were in disrepair and that stocks were low. West pleaded that as Ashley had been 'pleased soe hono^{bly} to sett us forthe w^{ch} is the life of our designe & yo^{r} hono^{rs} fame, Nott to lett us fade in our infancy butt bee pleased to send us a supply in the springe'. He stressed that the men in the Americas needed supplies to save them from 'ruin'.[125] His letter details the particular plight of each ship, telling how 'the Sloops Cables broake & shee ... is lost', and how John Yeomans and 'Esq^{r} Colleton are about buyinge of or hieringe of another Sloope & alsoe another vessell that will cary downe 60 or 70 people'. He continues 'we have had very bad weather att Barbadoes & ware in much daniger [sic] wth our shipp for our Cables broake; and the Port Royall [another vessel] hath lost a Cable & Anker'.[126] Locke also endorsed 'Henry Brains need of p*ar*ticulars to be sent for the Carolinas', written on 11 November.[127] Brayne, who seems to be writing to the same ends as West, was more forthright in his missive, and only sent a sheet of paper featuring a list of practical materials like sheet cable and 'one fore topsaile haveing but one from M^{r} Shaw sailemaker'.[128]

When the prospectors' leaky vessels did get to land, they wrote of encountering 'Indians', meetings with whom they relayed in extended narratives. Locke endorsed some of the letters arriving at Ashley's house with labels specifying writer and location: 'M^{r} Mathews relacon S^{t} Katherina Ashley River 70' and 'M^{r} Cartarets relation of their Planting at Ashley River 70', both of which contain lengthy descriptions of encounters with the existing peoples of that continent, and the processing of bartering and bargaining with

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124 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fols.61-62.
125 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.61.
126 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.61.
127 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.63.
128 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.63. He ended with a short note that seems to assume Ashley's knowledge of the particulars of West's letter, and work with that text: 'I desire y^{r} Hono^{r} to lett M^{r} Hoocker and M^{r} Shaw to furnish me wth these perticulars for what we had from them proves verie well and if you will send more of each perticular it will serve alsoe for the Port Royall w^{ch} she will in a short time want'.

them.[129] Mathews' narrative tells of how the men traded 'beads & old Clothes' with the natives for 'bread of Indian Corne, Peas, Leakes, Onyons, deare skins, Hens, Earthen pots', and how the Englishmen had heard of a 'beane plantations with a: 100: working Indians'.[130] News of successful plantation was valuable and though they had not seen the bean plantation, they *had heard of* it.

Mathews's relation also tells of an encounter with the Spanish colonists in the area, whom the English settlers were not warring with, but were nevertheless clashing with. The men, who had retired to their ship 'heard A drum*m*e & p*re*sently saw 4: Spaniards Armed with muskets & swords', and subsequently had an altercation with them over whether the English could remove the several servants they had solicited on the shore. 'I holding up a white shirt told him if we should have our people we would depart in peace', continues the projected voice of Mathews, 'but he Cryed No. No. and giveing y^e^ word to some in y^e^ wood Indians. Indians & Spaniards wee received a ralley of Muskett Shott & a Cloud of Arrowes which y^e^ Indians shott upright & soe they Continued for an hower & a halfe'. Nobody was killed in the fight, which continued, but the sails were left riddled with bullet-holes.[131]

Cartaret's relation describes a landing 'betweene Cape Romana & Port Royall'.[132] He again describes his experience of landing in terms of who was already there: 'few were y^e^ Natives who upon y^e^ Strand made fires & Came towards us whoop^e^ing in theire owne tone & manner making figures also where we should best Land'. The Indians called out 'Bony Conraro Angles', 'knowing us to be English by our Collours (as we Supposed)', Cartaret narrated. Continuing the story, Cartaret explains that 'many of us went a shoar at S^t^ Hellena & brought back word that y^e^ Land was good Land Supplyed with many Peach trees, & a Competence of timber a few figg trees & some Cedar here & theire & that there was a mile & a halfe of Cleare Land fitt and ready to Plante'.[133] This process of *bringing back word* was incredibly important in the process of colonisation, and his

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129 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fols.71-72, 73-74; Mathews' letter is not written by him but is a relation by another who 'had it from M Marveine Mathews' who was in the sloop that sailed to Keyanah on 23 May 1670.
130 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.71. There is a copy of this document at PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fols.69-70 that orders this list differently.
131 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.71.
132 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.73-4.
133 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fols.73-74.

epistolary report was a further extension of that word: that they had located, and seen first hand, more 'Cleare Land fitt and ready to Plante'.

The writers were in these early days beholden to Ashley and the Proprietary structure back in England, living day to day without any assurance of sustainability in the volatile environments of the new plantations. In June 1670 Joseph West wrote from his nascent settlement at Kyawaw that he was 'forced to send the Barbados shallop to Bermuda for a supply of provision, for feare the ship should miscarry at Virginia'.[134] They have 'but 7 weekes provision left, and y^{t} onely Pease at a pint a day a man, the Country affording us nothing, w^{ch} makes it goe very hard with us, and wee cannot Employ our servants as wee would because wee have noe victualls for them'.[135] He continues 'Our corne, potatoes, and other things doe thrive very well of late praised be god, but wee cannot have any dependance on it this yeare'. The young colony repeatedly asked for supplies to get itself off the ground, and West continues here 'but if wee have timely supplyes now wee doe not question but to provide for our selves y^{e} next yeare, and y^{t} it will prove a very good settlement'.[136] As if to back up this last letter, there is another letter endorsed by Locke 'Provitions at Ashley river 70', again confirming that the '140 men at River Ashley' had only '7 weekes provizions'.[137] The settlement required an initial investment that it would repay later. The writers needed to ensure that Ashley, back in London, understood this and would not simply consider the new settlements to be not worth the financial risk and disenfranchise them. They had to emphasise the potential in the planting sites they had identified.

Each development abroad was vital knowledge for Ashley and other overseers, and the men in Carolina dutifully sent notification of their rapidly evolving governmental power structure. In September that year Locke endorsed a new letter from the 'Council at Ashley riv: recommendacon of J: Dalton to be Secretary & Register 9° Sept 70'.[138] This letter accompanied a letter from Joseph Dalton himself (also dated 9 September), who, writing in a more considered and confident style than any of the other correspondents before mentioned, set out in his new role to provide Ashley with 'a thorough understanding of all things in this place y^{t} may conduce to yo^{r} L*ord*s*hi*pps interest & the

134 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fols.77-78.
135 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.77.
136 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.77.
137 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.83.
138 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fols.84-85.

good of this happy (I hope) settlement'.[139] He confirmed that the colony was 'indeed safely setled and with a very propitious aspect', 'there only remains the p*re*servation of it w^ch^ consists cheifly in two things, carefull supplyes & a wise politicke Governm^t^. He recommended the supply of necessaries, 'the want of w^ch^ have been sometimes fatall, always injurious; hunger starved infancy seldome produces strong maturity'.[140] Writers from the fledgling colonies presented their new, vulnerable environments as helpless progeny, asking Ashley to nurture them though their babyhoods.[141]

Dalton apologises for the style of his letter ('pardon a pen stupified with zeale for the prosperity of Carolina!'), and ends with a report on the lack of stationery. 'We have very little paper in the whole Collony, being most of it lost & damiged in the voyage, w^ch^ proves a great impediment to this Office, though I made the best shifts I could w^th^ a small quantity of my owne w^ch^ I had saved'. He continues, 'noe provision being made for this Office, there is not one booke wherein to record any thing; I hope the want thereof for the future will be remedied by you^r^ Ldp, especially a booke to Register Grants in, w^ch^ ought to be of a considerable bulk in Folio'.[142] Paper was necessary to set up the infrastructure of ownership that the colonists required.

The letter writers were desperate for more people to be sent to the plantations. Dalton recommended 'the speedy peopling of this place' and advised Ashley to dedicate 'a ship of a considerable burthen to be wholly imployed for three or four yeares in transporting of people & their goods to this place gratis'.[143] Part of the reason paper was necessary was to convey impressions of the land back to England for publicity purposes. Dalton wrote in a postscript that 'It will be a very great invitation for people to come hither for

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[139] PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.86.
[140] PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.86.
[141] When the settlement at Albermarle was attacked by Spaniards a letter (dated 16 March 1670) arrived at Exeter House titled 'The humble Remonstrance of the Councell for, & on the behalfe of themselves & the severall freehoulders, beinge the First Adventurers to the Province of Carolina, in America' which used the same imagery to proclaim: 'Wee cannott Imagine, butt that you^r^ hono^rs^ are very sencouble of the grevious pangs, & many sorrowes, that all new settlem^ts^ (wee meane the people concerned therein) doe suffer, before that happy yssue (hope) cann bee brought forth: beinge onely in the concepcon upon arrivall: whereof wee have had a full, nay a double share. Now after soe painfull travells, wee doe heere p*re*sent, an Infant settlem^t^ to yo^r^ Hono^rs^: (though in a meane dress) yet if Cherished by yo^r^ hono^rs^ favo^rs^, may prove noe les serviceable, then yo^r^ honou^rs^ have designed, butt, such is our misery, that unlesse yo^r^ honou^rs^ comitye doe Countermande, the after birth is likely to proove more fatall to us, then all our former troubles: w^ch^ have been none of the leaste.' PRO 30/24/48, part 3, fols.19-20.
[142] PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.86v.
[143] PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.86.

to cause to be published in England & other his Ma^{tyes} Palantacons, a freedome of trade & y^{t} without custome for seaven yeares, without which they will hardly beleive'.[144]

Much ink was also spilt on an ongoing saga in which an interpreter called Woodward was forced to stay in the new colonies because of his usefulness, though he pleaded to return home. There is a letter from Woodward to John Yeamans, written in September 1670, in which the interpreter explains tantalisingly that he has 'discovered a Country soe delitious, pleasant & fruitfull, y^{t} were it cultivated doutless it would prove a second Paradize. It lys West & by Northe nearest from us .14 days travell after y^{e} Indian manner of marchinge'.[145]

On 12 September 1670 the men at Albemarle Point; O'Sullivan, West, Marshall, Dalton, Sayle and Scrivener, sent a letter in Dalton's hand to Ashley detailing the usefulness of Woodward.[146] They had found out that he was awaiting 'his transportation for England', where, he claimed, he would deliver an exclusive first-hand report to Ashley: 'a more exact Acc^{t} of the discovery of severall places & Rivers then ever we heard before'. This letter explained that Woodward 'hath lately been fourteene dayes journye Westward up into the Maine, as farr as the fruitfull Country of Chuftytachyque the Emperour', and that the Emperor had extended an arm of friendship to the English settlers.[147] Although Woodward, who desperately wanted to return to England, intended to only tell Ashley in person about the 'second Paradise' (i.e. he would only *bring back word* if he himself was brought back to England), the other men wrote to Ashley to ask him not to accept Woodward's intention, explaining that they could not 'well dispence with his absence from the Collony, being of very great advantage by his familiar acquaintance amongst the natives, & his knowledge in their language'. They blocked Woodward's actions by writing to Ashley, rather than physically restraining him. From his safe position in London, Ashley held the power behind the infrastructure that determined these colonists' prosperity, so some of their letters were extremely politic.[148]

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144 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.86v.
145 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fols.92-93; 92. The word 'fruitful' recurs throughout the Carolina notes and was also used by Locke in his *Second Treatise of Government*, i.e. §41 where he mentions 'fruitful soil, apt to produce in abundance what might serve for food, raiment, and delight'.
146 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.97.
147 PRO 30/24/40, part 1, fol.97.
148 PRO 30/24/40, part 1, fol.97.

The men evaluated each other in their letters, dealing behind each other's backs, for good and for ill. On 9 November 1670 Henry Brayne wrote Ashley a long letter in which he claimed that 'there is but 4 or 5 men of the Councell that have any reason w^{ch} is Cap^{t} West M^{r} Bull M^{r} Scrivener and one M^{r} Dun and M^{r} Dalton'.[149] These men were all, according to Brayne, 'good honest men', but they knew nothing of planting. It would be alright if all of the Council were 'good honest men' who were unskilled in planting, Brayne wrote, but the rest of the Council 'know nothing unless it be to scould or abuse any person that did seack theire good and welfare':

> Espetially Cap^{t} O Swillowvan Owr Survaier Generall who doth by his obscurd language abuse the Governer Councell & Country w^{ch} by his rash and base dealings he has caused everie one in the Country at allmost to be his Inimie and Espetially he hath given ~~the~~ the people a verie great Jealouzie of him as to his art of Survaying for I asure Y^{r} Lordship all Lands, that he hath pretended to lay and run out is verie Irregular[150]

Other men agreed, casting doubt on O'Sullivan's character and skills, expressing horror at the moral and practical shortcomings of this land measurer. They yearned for someone who could fairly portion off the new America into parcels. Brayne's letter seems to suggest a Council reshuffle, and he has faith in that body as effective if comprised of rational agents. As he explains at the start of his letter: 'though the governer is Anchent and Crazi yet if ther was but a wise Councell that was planters & knowing how to settle such a Cuntry', then things may work.[151]

Despite the pleas for more paper, enough paper was found to enable the settlers to continue to send these long, often convoluted letters, peppered with diversions and passions. Locke – whose job may have been to present these letters to his patron, but was certainly to help him manage them – set up a system for ordering their content. Concisely, yet on large sheets of paper, Locke compiled a database of certain nuggets of information from within each letter.[152] Locke would usually label and tag each entry with a keyword to indicate the topic or theme of the information, a date, and an author. With the extracts from William Owen's letter of 15 September 1670, below, the label at the top

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149 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fols.116-117; 116.
150 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.116.
151 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.116.
152 One such sheet is titled 'Extract of Lord Ashleys letters 70', PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fols.105-107; 107v.

confirms the author and date of the letter being treated; the bold headings are the topics that the extracts relate to.[153]

> W^{m} Owen Sept 15. 70
>
> **Charles towne**
> Defended with a creeke on y^{e} one side & a salt marsh over flowne at ~~spring~~ high tides in y^{e} other y^{e} neck y^{t} joyns it to y^{e} main Land not exceeding 50 yards, palisaded & easily defensible
>
> **Inlet**
> Difficult to strangers but 3 fathom water
>
> **Healthy**
> But one y^{t} came from England dead & y^{t} of a lingring distemper[154]

It is hard to know whether Locke extracted on themes chosen by Ashley, or whether he simply chose apparent main themes from the letters. Some of the nuggets that Locke produced supplied information about the environment, the prosperity of the place, and its qualities of sickness or healthiness at specific locations:

> **Country**
> To y^{e} Northward more sickly. About Ashley river fertil of a Wonderfull growth[155]

It is curious to consider how Locke, Ashley and the Proprietors understood the term 'sickly' as it is used here, without qualifiers. Does this imply that the area was holistically sickly, that the people were sickly, or that the soil was infertile? The second sentence implies that this was a comment about the soil and its fruitfulness and potential. The extract above shows how a short, working description of Ashley River could be distilled from a longer, more rambling letter. Locke also extracted the needs and demands of the letter-writers:

> **Q Setlem^{t}**

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153 On Locke's extract sheets, the keywords, which I have indicated as bold headers here, appear as headings in the margin to the left of the entry. For formatting purposes and ease of reading they have been altered into bold headers, which I feel is faithful to the original sense of the document's layout.
154 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.105.
155 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.105, also from William Owen's same letter of 15 September 1670.

> 500 people will secure the settlem[t] 1000 perfect it. Desires supplys of necessays till y[t] time, & for himself a dispensation of freight in exportacon & importacon for some time

Other reports contained different information, like this extraction from Stephen Bull's letter of 12 September 1670:

> S. Bull 12 Sept. 70
>
> **Ashley river**
> Good land. ^plenty^ Every thing thrives beyond expectacon. Oranges: Limons: Limes: Pomcitrons: Pomegranats: Fig trees: Plantanes. 10 Acres P*er* head taken up about y[e] towne & y[e] greater lots upon y[e] river above & below. Healthy. Some people have had agues & feavers but neither mortal nor violent[156]

In the extracts above, and particularly in the last two sentences of the entry directly above, you can already see a difference evolving between the general term 'healthy' and news of people's particular illnesses. News about the rickety power structure in America came through and was digested by Locke, whose editing renders some comments emphatic rather than incidental as they may have appeared in context:

> **Governor**
> Sick of a feaver & in danger. Some things ill done by him rather through self will then designe or interest[157]

That the rest of the place was summarised as generally 'healthy', and the Governor was summarised as 'sick', evoked a strong image of the body politic of the colonised area and his political and physical putridity in it. These extracts from Henry Brayne's letter of 9 November 1670 could be compared with the above to flesh out a picture of the governor, or the 'country':

> **Country**
> Good
>
> **Governor**
> Ancient & crazie
>
> **Council**

---

156 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.105v.
157 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.105v, also from Stephen Bull's letter of 12 September 1670.

> Men of reason in it. West Bull, Scrivener Dun & Dalton but ignorant of planting. The rest unfit espetialy O Sylivant an ill man & noe surveyor[158]

Above we saw how Brayne, in his prose, complained of O'Sullivan's 'rash and base dealings', and he is here described again as an 'ill man'. Locke's extracting process insinuates that it is not necessarily the tone of the letters that is vital for business, but the distilled content. Joseph West and William Sayle's reports flesh out the situation in September 1670 further:

> J. West Sept. 70 [...]
>
> **Country**
> Healthy, delightfull, bears any thing
>
> **Cattle**
> Some of y^{e} Virginia cattle taken up for y^{r} L^{dps} privat plantacon
>
> **Governor**
> Aged & unfit would have cald a Parlm^{t}
>
> **Ship**
> Dispatchd in haste to Barbados to fetch people & returne before winter [...]
>
> W^{m} Sayle [...]
>
> **Country**
> Pleasant. Healthy. Fruitfull.[159]

The two other letters from this sheaf of extracts deem larger, prose abstracts rather than short, inventoried lists, the second of which is Dalton's letter, discussed above, written directly after his appointment as secretary. Locke writes:

> Jo: Dalton 9° Sept 70
>
> Desires a ship to transport people gratis 2 or 3 years. ^they^ want servants & clothes. The Spaniards dare not trust y^{e} Indians under him because of their tyrany. 300 leagues to Mexico from Ashley river. Desires mitigacon of freight for y^{e} planters goods they having been hinderd from planting by alarms & fortifiing. Desires a ship of force

158 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.106.
159 [...] indicates that I have skipped an entry.

to be always there, & be continued Secretary. Want paper & a booke to register grants.[160]

In November 1670 Locke produced another sheet of extracts, this time in the theme of 'Proposals & Wants', in which he listed motions put forward in the prose of the Council's letters, this time listing the subject matter down the left column, the content in the middle, and then the source of the information on the right.[161] This was an easy way of working out, in a paper-storm of opinion, what each man was doing. These first three entries are taken from Brayne's correspondence:

Comings
Recommended to be master of y^e^ vessel to be bought, he being trusty, knowing, skild in y^e^ coasts of New England Virginia, Carolina & y^e^ Leeward Islands & haveing an interest in Carolina
Brayne

Cap^t^ Gilbert
Recommended as like to increase y^e^ plantacon if incouraged
Brayne

Brayne
Desires more power. Promises a draught of y^e^ coast
Brayne[162]

The problem of Woodward, the translator who wanted to return home, was also filleted from the letters and condensed into the following passage:

Woodward
He desires to come to England wanting necessarys & servants, but cannot be spared being interpreter & familiarly acquainted with y^e^ Indians, he in their want having procured supplys from y^e^ Indians
Council

Desires to come home to informe y^e^ proprietors of w^t^ he has discovered and will tell noe body else
M^r^ T. Colleton

Unfit for Woodward to come home though he desire it & hath something to discover to y^e^ Lds Proprietors, because their only interpreter & mediator with y^e^ Indians
S^r^ J: Yeamans

He is most beholding to S^r^ John Yeamans his agent though the Proprietors have made honourable recommendacon of him. He is forced now to stay at home to interpret the Indians intelligence
Woodward[163]

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160 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.107.
161 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fols.132-133. This is a large folded sheet endorsed 'Extract of Letter from Carolina Nov 70'.
162 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.132.

Locke also produced a couple of sides of extracts, employing the same organisational scheme as above viz. Woodward, but this time headed simply 'Informacon', in which he effected an adroit summary of O'Sullivan, the last of which should be familiar from the letters quoted above:[164]

> **O Sulivan**
> Disliked
>
> M^r^ T. Colleton
>
> Unfit. Ignorant in Surveying, of noe understanding, ill natured buggerer of children. Sent another mans pipe staves to Barbados. A very ill man
>
> Mathews
>
> Of ill language & life, unskild in surveying. Every body dissatisfied with him & y^rs^ costs set out by him, Desires y^t^ S^r^ Jo: Yeamans M^r^ Colleton & Maj^r^ Kingsland may be impowerd to get a Surveyor from Barbados. Or that they may survey themselves
>
> Brayne [165]

Many of the comments that came in to Ashley's office concerned the healthiness of the colony, evaluating everything from the illnesses that occurred there to the fertility of the soil, to the plants and animals that flourished there. Locke's process of cross-referencing allowed him to build up and texture an idea of the salubrious 'Country' (his keyword in the instance below), layering descriptions picked from a spread of letters onto that key term and thereby working towards a definition of it.

> **Country**
> Good. Healthy, but 4 dead & those of distempers usuall in other places though men have been pressed with watching
>
> Council
>
> Healthy, pleasant. Corne & other things planted thrive well, soyle will beare any thing. Garden seeds ~~not~~ did not thrive ~~cause not good~~ sent to Barbados for Indian corne & ginger to plant
>
> West
>
> Ginger, cotton, olives, sugar canes grow there very well. Plenty of fish & foule abundance of oysters with good perle. Turtles. Hares rabbets otters badgers a fine country
>
> M^r^ T. Colleton

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163 PRO 30/24/48, part 1, fol.132.
164 PRO 30/24/48, part 3, fols.52-53, endorsed 'Extract of Letters from Carolina. Nov 70'.
165 PRO 30/24/48, part 3, fol.53.

> Mould generally without fault. Large cedars towards Port Royal. Rivers deep & safe. Aer beyond admiracon healthfull
>
> Mathews
>
> Good for planting & navigacon
>
> Brayne
>
> Healthy. Earth fruit full to admiration Situation pleasant beyond expression, abounds with Cedar & all good things
>
> S[r] Jo: Yeaman
>
> Healthy fruitfull pleasant abounding in good land & many pleasant rivers
>
> Sayle
>
> Ashley river bears vessels of 3 or 400 tun to unlade on skids from y[e] ships on y[e] Bank
>
> M[r] T. Colleton[166]

By repeatedly using those seemingly vague terms – 'healthy', 'fruitful', 'pleasant' – in their letters, the writers enable the inscription and formulation of these concepts, and their integration into the emerging picture of Carolina that appeared to the wider world. This process was not unlike the repeated use of 'foul' and 'foulness' amongst the writers describing Ashley's and the other men's abscesses. These terms, which might be vague or wandering when used in isolation, developed a greater degree of fixity when layered with multiple usages from different sources.

The manuscripts mentioned here are only the tip of the iceberg and the archive shows that Locke was responsible for drafting many letters back to the Council and also other formal documents, like a 'Draught Patent for Landgraves to S[r] J: Yeamans 71', a list of 'Carolina Measures & Weights', and of course the much-discussed 'Constitutions of Carolina'.[167] While Locke may have offered verbal input to the development of the Carolina plantations during his meetings with Ashley, some of his interventions appear to have been wrought editorially, in his extraction and presentation of information. Locke was able to bring disparate accounts into forum, and, using his careful system of cross-referencing, to make letter-writers talk laterally to people other than their intended correspondents. By streaming information in this way he was able to create a plateau of

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166 PRO 30/24/48, part 3, fol.53.
167 PRO 30/24/48, part 3, fols.55-58, 71-72, 126-142.

authority, from which certain decisions could be made and certain vistas could be viewed.

It was this set of skills that resulted in Locke constructing the bare bones of a promotional narrative to sit beside a map of the area in John Ogilby's book on America. As part of an attempt to realise the settlers univocal desire (and necessity) to people Ashley River, Peter Colleton wrote a letter directly addressed to Locke asking him to help with the process of sourcing and collating smaller maps from Ashley's files. Colleton also asked Locke to 'draw a discourse to be added to this map ^in y^e^ nature of a description^ such as may invite people w^th^ out seeming to come from us'.[168] Promotional writing about the colonies was regular at this time and Colleton was planning his own publicity, essentially using an apparent geographic natural history as a Trojan horse for an advertisement.[169] There is no evidence that Locke completed this task, but he did start it on the back of Ogilby's letter, making lists under the headings of 'Authors' 'Writers' and 'Travellers' who had written relevant accounts.[170] A list of descriptive categories that Locke was apparently intending to structure his narrative around was indicated with his conventional tags:

Situation
Discovery
Soyle & shore
Subterranea Fossilia
Aire & temperature
Water Rivers Lakes
^Fish^
Plants & Fruits
Insects ~~Fish~~
Birds
Beasts
~~Fish~~
Inhabitants number
Bodys
Abilitys of minde
Temper & inclinations
Morality & customs
Religion

---

168 PRO 30/24/48, part 3, fols.64-65; 64.
169 See for example Samuel Wilson, *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America* (London, 1682); Thomas Amy, *Carolina: Or a Description of the Present State of that Country* (London, 1682). The Carolina chapter spans seven pages of Ogilby's *America* (London, 1671), 205-212, and as De Beer notes, it is extremely favourable.
170 PRO 30/24/48, part 3, fols.64v-65.

OEconomy[171]

The items on this list follow the categories of information typically found in contemporary travel books, which shows that Locke understood the conventions governing the task Colleton had asked of him.[172]

Though probably not composed by Locke, the Carolina that appeared in Ogilby's work was, as De Beer notes, extremely favourable. The native inhabitants' lives are described as 'neither Scanty nor Unhealthy'; they are 'of a larger size than that of *English*-men, their Make strong and well proportion'd, a crooked or mis-shapen Person being not to be found in the whole Countrey.' Great efforts are made to clarify that any sickness suffered by 'the *English*-men who first planted on the *Ashley* River' was not indigenous to Carolina, and that they had 'lost not in a whole years time, of a considerable number, any one Person, of any Disease to be imputed to the Countrey.'[173]

Samuel Wilson used the same kind of language that the Council had used in the opening paragraph to his 1682 *Account of the Province of Carolina in America*, writing that the boundaries of Carolina contained 'the most healthy Fertile and pleasant part of *Florida*, which is so much commended by the Spanish Authors.'[174] The pamphlet began by explaining the history of the land:

> This *Province of Carolina*, was in the Year 1663, Granted by *Letters Pattents* in Propriety of his most Gracious *Majesty*, unto the Right Honourable *Edward Earl of Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albermarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkely*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashly*, now Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Sir *George Carteret*, and *Sir John Colleton*, Knights and Barronets, Sir *William Berkeley* Knight, by which Letters Pattents the Laws of *England* are to be of force in *Carolina*: but the *Lords Proprietors* have power with the consent of the Inhabitants to make By-Laws for the better Government of the said *Province*: So that no Money can be raised or Law made, without the consent of the Inhabitants of their Representatives. They have also power to

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171 The structural purpose of this list is apparent from Locke's indecision over where to put 'fish' in the narrative.

172 One interesting article on promotional literature, with mention of its conventions, is H. Roy Merrens, 'The Physical Environment of Early America: Images and Image Makers in Colonial South Carolina', *Geographical Review*, 59:4 (1969), 530-566.

173 It was also in 1681-2 that the Whig newspaper, the *True Protestant Mercury* published articles about the fruitfulness of the province, announcing the opening of the Carolina Coffee House in London; a place where the Proprietors allegedly met, and where information about the colonies could be obtained, van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 39.

174 Wilson, *An Account* (1682), 5. This pamphlet was translated into French to attract Hugenots, van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 38.

> appoint and impower Governours, and other Magistrates to Grant Liberty of Conscience, make Constitutions, *&c.* [...] And the said Lords Proprietors have there setled a Constitution of Government, whereby is granted Liberty of Conscience, and wherein all possible care is taken for the equal Administration of Justice, and for the lasting Security of the Inhabitants both in their Persons and Estates.[175]

Crucially, the Proprietors were free 'to Grant Liberty of Conscience'. This last section, about all possible care being taken for the equal administration of justice, and for the security of the inhabitants in their persons and their estates harks us back to Ashley and Locke's toleration arguments.

Wilson continued to explain how 'two Colonys have been settled in this *Province*, the one at *Albermarle* in the most Northerly part, the other at *Ashly* River'.[176] It went on to explain how, in the story we have seen played out in the notes above, Ashley River was first settled 'in *April* 1670, the Lords Proprietors having at their sole charge, set out three Vessels, with a considerable number of able Men', plus victuals, clothes and tools, supporting the colony 'until the Inhabitants were able by their own industry to live of themselves'. '*Ashly-River*,' the writer explained, 'divides itself into two Branches: the Southernmost retaining the name of *Ashly-River*, the North Branch is called *Cooper-River*.' The pamphlet continued to describe the new Charles Town, a re-establishment of the original community described in the 1670 notes in a more peninsular position. 'In *May*, 1680 the Lords Proprietors sent their Orders to the Government there, appointing the Port-Town for these two Rivers to be Built on the Poynt of Land that divides them, and to be called *Charles* Town'.[177] When Wilson's report was published the Proprietors were setting up an important port town.

Wilson emphasises Carolina's intrinsic, general salubrity, writing that the climate is 'much of the same nature with those delicious Countries about *Aleppo*, *Antitoch*, and *Smyrna*: but hath the advantage of being under an equal English Government.'[178] The 'Soyle is generally very fertile' so that 'Wheat, *Rye, Barley, Oates*, and Peas, thrive exceedingly, and the ground yields in greater abundance than in *England, Turnips, Parsnips, Carrots,*

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175 Wilson, *An Account* (1682), 5-6.
176 Wilson, *An Account* (1682), 6.
177 Wilson, *An Account* (1682), 7.
178 Wilson, *An Account* (1682), 9.

Potatoes'.[179] The country has 'usefull Timber that *England* hath, and divers sorts of lasting Timber that *England* hath not' and 'The woods abound with *Hares, Squirrels* [etc.]' and the country 'doth so abound in Rivers'. 'Cattle thrive'; 'Beef will take salt at *Ashly-River* any Month in the Year'; and 'Hogs increase'. One long paragraph is devoted to personal health, and the physical fortunes of the people who had relocated there:

> Such, who in this Country have seated themselves near great Marshes, are subject to Agues, as those who are so seated in *England*: but such who are planted more remote from Marshes or standing Waters, are exceedingly healthy; insomuch, that out of a Family consisting of never less than twelve Persons, not one hath died since their first Arrival there, which is nine years: but what is more, not one hath been sick in all that time; nor is there one of the Masters of Families that went over in the first Vessels, dead of sickness in *Carolina*, except one, who was seventy and five years of Age before he came there; though the number of those Masters of Families be pretty considerable: divers persons that went out of *England* Ptisical and Consumptive, have recover'd, and others subject in *England* to frequent fits of the Stone, have been absolutely freed from them after they have been here a short time; nor is the Gout there known. The Ayr gives a strong Appetite and quick Digestion, nor is it without suitable effects, men finding themselves apparently more lightsome, more prone, and more able to all Youthfull Exercises, than in *England*, the Women are very Fruitful, and the Children have fresh Sanguine Complexions.[180]

'Lightsome' means cheerful, and prone to mean 'ready in mind; eager, willing'. Since moving to Carolina, the men are mentally and physically nimbler, and the women bear more children. The unhealthy things, like living near marshes, are only as unhealthy as they are in England, whereas the new clime heals some English complaints. This published encomium echoed the Council's manuscript message, shown above, that Carolina is 'Good. Healthy, but 4 dead & those of distempers usuall', and William Owen's observation of the country as generally 'Healthy [...] But one y^{t} came from England dead & y^{t} of a lingring distemper', both of which release the new land from any implication in the plight of these individuals. The four deaths were because of 'usual' reasons; the other death was because of a lingering distemper that the settler had imported from England. Though Wilson's promotional material appeared a decade after the letters I have examined above, there is continuity to Carolina's reputation: Ashley River kept its healthy image while the original Ashley was described as a pus-filled Leviathan. It was common knowledge that living near stagnant water was bad for the

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[179] Wilson, *An Account* (1682), 10.
[180] Wilson, *An Account* (1682), 11.

health and Ashley River was – by dint of its status as a flowing conduit of settlers, trade and fresh air – super salubrious.

Two meanings of the word 'healthy' are at play in the descriptions of Carolina, which mark out different moments in the process of privation. Firstly the land is healthy in the sense of *OED* 2. a.: 'Conducive to or promoting health; wholesome, salubrious; salutary.' Secondly the people there are healthy in the sense of *OED* 1: 'Possessing or enjoying good health; hale or sound (in body), so as to be able to discharge all functions efficiently.' Locke's notes and the Carolina promotional literature configured the colony as having a bounteous superfluity of *OED* 2. a. which could be converted into health possessed personally in the sense of *OED* 1.[181] The story of Carolina and Ashley River was one that Locke witnessed, from the colony's unsustainable days to its freestanding establishment. As he read the Council's descriptions of Carolina as intrinsically 'healthy' and read later descriptions of the place, he was undoubtedly aware of these twin definitions, and the way that the dynamic between them made it possible to reap personal health from a healthy land.

The health of both Ashley's abscess and the Carolina colony were recorded and accounted for textually. The health of the abscess was monitored and recorded in the precise skeleton narrative of the case journal, from where it could be utilised for other discourses. Likewise, the health of the colony was recorded in the precise skeleton narrative of Locke's notes, from where Colleton saw that it could be utilised for promotional discourses. The same culture of observation and experiment underlined both ventures, which were characterised by careful surveying and testing rather than book theories of abscess or land management.

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[181] PRO 30/24/47/2 fol.6; *OED*. We saw a configuration of 'healthy' *OED* 1 in the case of Ashley's abscess, when Arnold signed off Dawson's case with news that Dawson, fully recovered and functioning, was able to 'performe all businesses... he was ever capable of'.

Matthew Slade: The loss of a scholarly friend

In his *Conduct of the Understanding*, written in 1697, Locke delivered a caveat about books and reading. He wrote that 'Reading furnishes the Mind only with Materials of Knowledge', and that only judicious thinking can make 'what we read ours'.[1] A good thinker was characterised by his ability to trace each argument 'to its Original, and see upon what Basis it stands, and how firmly'. Locke added:

> Those who have got this Faculty, one may say, have got the true Key of Books, and the clue to lead them through the mizmaze of variety of Opinions and Authors to Truth and Certainty.[2]

A *mizmaze* is a place: a labyrinth or maze, but it is also a state of confusion that one can be in: 'a muddle'. Locke's comments about the 'true Key of Books' describe a certain critical faculty that was associated with access to *the* book: the Bible. Locke thought that each man had a duty to read the Bible closely and carefully, and that scholars had a duty to read a variety of books with the same attention. Locke's scholarly friends tended to be people who knew how to traverse the mizmaze and avoid the muddle.[3] This can sound like a private and lone pursuit, conjuring images of great scholars ensconced in libraries making mental and inward connections. Yet there was a very public facet to reading and bookishness, as all of these men were linked in a close virtual community of letters in which each man was voraciously interested in which books other men acquired and read, and the opinions they formed of them. In Locke's scholarly circles, your friends would know if you had managed to traverse the mizmaze, or whether you had got lost in its tricks and diversions. They would know this by your opinions, by your ability to make friends with eminent scholars, and by the material emblems of your erudition: books, libraries and letters.[4]

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[1] Locke, *Of the Conduct of the Understanding*, ed. John Yolton (Bristol, 1993), 60.

[2] Locke, *Conduct*, 61-62.

[3] The passage from the *Conduct* compares well with a passage from Locke's chapter 'Of Enthusiasm', *Essay*, IV.xix.1: 'There is no Body in the Commonwealth of Learning, who does not profess himself a lover of Truth: and there is not a rational Creature that would not take it amiss to be thought otherwise of. And yet for all this one may truly say, there are very few lovers of Truth for Truth's sake, even amongst those, who perswade themselves that they are so. How a Man may know whether he be so in earnest is worth enquiry: And I think there is this one unerring mark of it, viz. The not entertaining any Proposition with greater assurance than the Proofs it is built upon will warrant.'

[4] Peter Coste's description of Locke's opinion of Lord Ashley's politically advantageous way of reading further illustrates the way in which Locke thought about mastery of books: 'Tho' my

The circle of acquaintances that Locke made during his time in the Netherlands in the 1680s formed an armada of scholarly friends who participated in what John Marshall has described as 'republic of letters' that 'brought together several individuals already committed to extensive religious toleration and to support for scholarly and scientific enquiries conducted with "curiosity" and "critical" thinking, even if this involved challenges to contemporary theological orthodoxy'.[5] As James Force and Richard Popkin have written of this period of Locke's life:

> John Locke [...] probed the textual infrastructure of Scripture. Locke's correspondence, certainly from the early 1680s, is littered with inquiries about this manuscript or that, about new editions and recent finds: he was integrated into an international republic of biblical criticism.[6]

The republic of letters was not divided by genre, and physicians and natural philosophers rubbed shoulders with biblical scholars, crucially interlinked in a fast-moving web of critical methodology, news, knowledge, books, and letters.

This chapter explores the loss of a scholarly friend from the republic of letters and learning. In 1689, as Locke's tolerationist circle pushed forward in the wake of political change, a man called Matthew Slade deteriorated and died. This chapter investigates the links between scholarly muddles, illness, and posterity by considering the ways in which Slade's disorder was coded in terms of the external world and his behaviour in it. It is against the culture of Locke and Slade's circle, when Slade begins to behave in a culturally abnormal manner, that his friends perceive and articulate his problem. Locke and Slade's circle worried over his decline while he lived, and when he died they operated to ensure that he entered posterity with a reputation for erudition and dignity. They did this by controlling the literature that was produced about him, and by making sure that it was free of all suggestions of instability.

Lord SHAFTSBURY had not spent much time in reading; nothing, in Mr. LOCKE's opinion, coul'd be more just than the judgment he pass'd upon the Books, which fell into his hands. He presently saw thro' the design of a Work; and without much heeding the words, which he ran over with vast rapidity, he immediately found whether the author was master of his subject, and whether his reckonings were exact', Locke, *A Collection* (1720), xiii.

[5] Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge, 2006), 502-503. Richard G. Maber has also described this republic in his *Publishing in the Republic of Letters: The Ménage-Grævius-Wetstein Correspondence 1679-1692* (Amsterdam and New York, 2005).

[6] James Force and Richard Popkin, *Newton and Religion* (Dordecht and London, 1999), 94.

Locke first met Slade in the 'Collegium privatum medicum', an Amsterdam group structured around a common interest in medicine and natural philosophy. When he travelled to the Netherlands in 1683, tarnished by association with Shaftesbury and the Rye assassination plot, Locke had published nothing but a few poems. The Collegium was a group not dissimilar to the groups of men in Oxford, Ireland and France who met to exchange ideas and conduct experiments. It comprised the Remonstrant professor Phillip van Limborch, and Matthew Slade, Peter Guenellon and his father-in-law Egbert Veen, Abraham Quina, Peter Bernagie, and Abraham Cyprianus who were all medical men.[7]

Slade, who had studied medicine at Leiden and specialised in anatomy, was a lively member of this group, and had founded the Collegium in 1664 with the anatomist Gerard Blasius.[8] Influential in the rise of Amsterdam science, he had worked at the *Binnengasthuis*: a hospital where clinical medicine was taught and where Jan Swammerdam practiced dissection.[9] In 1685 Slade had composed some verses on Locke's mentor and tutor Thomas Sydenham and had helped Locke to make links with eminent scholars of his acquaintance, like the classical philologist Johann-Georg Graevius with whom Locke had spent a pleasant afternoon conversing in Slade's garden.[10] Under the anagram pseudonym 'Theodorus Aldes, Anglus' Slade published a book on Harvey's theory of circulation, and another book on embryology.[11] Slade was apparently also skilled at Greek, and wrote a commentary on the lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria, a dictionary

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[7] Simonutti, 'Circles of *Virtuosi*', 160n; Dewhurst, 'John Locke's Medical Notes during his Residence in Holland (1683-1689)', *Janus*, 50 (1963), 176-192. Some of the material in Dewhurst's article is repeated in *Physician and Philosopher.*

[8] Simonutti, 'Circles of *Virtuosi*', 160.

[9] Harold J. Cook, *Matters of Exchange* (New Haven and London, 2007), 286; 'The Cutting Edge of a Revolution? Medicine and natural history near the shores of the North Sea' in Judith Field and Frank James, ed., *Renaissance and Revolution: Humanists, Scholars, Craftsmen and Natural Philosophers in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), 45-61; 53. M. J. van Lieburg, 'Municipal Hospitals and Clinical Teaching in The Netherlands during the 19th Century' in Harm Beukers and J. M. H. Moll, ed., *Clinical Teaching, Past and Present* (=*Clio Medica*, 21:1-4 (1987-88)), 125-138; 127-128.

[10] Dewhurst, 'Some Verses in Honour of Thomas Sydenham', *Janus*, 50 (1963), 193-197. Graevius, who took up the chair of history at Utrecht in 1661, was a protégé of the famous scholar Jacob Gronovius, and was pre-eminent among Latin scholars by the 1690s, Maber, *Publishing in the Republic of Letters*, 11-14; L.914, Locke to Graevius, 28 February 1687 (Latin). Slade had previously sent Graevius a letter introducing Locke, L.794.

[11] Matthew Slade, *Dissertatio Epistolica de Generatione Animalium Contra Harveium Interpolata et Tribus Observationibus Auctior* (Amsterdam, 1666); *Obseervationes in Ovis Facta* (Amsterdam, 1673). Schrader dedicated his book, part of the continental response to Harvey, to Swammerdam and Slade. As part of his studies, he had written a dissertation on asthma ('de asthmate') dedicated to his father Cornelius, R. W. Innes-Smith, *English-Speaking Students of Medicine at the University of Leyden* (Edinburgh and London, 1932), 215.

of Greek words originally compiled in the 5th century AD.[12] Anthony Wood described Slade as 'strictly educated in learning', and he has been posthumously described as a scholar and a participant in English and Dutch circles of erudition.[13]

When he arrived in the Netherlands Locke was not well known, yet by 1689 – the year he would return to England – he was on the cusp of publishing several provocative books, albeit mostly anonymously, two of which directly intervened in the toleration debate. In April of 1689, the *Epistola de Tolerantia*, which he had written amongst his Dutch friends in 1685 and addressed to van Limborch, was published at Gouda, the English version of which, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, was licensed for publication in October. In November the *Two Treatises of Government* was advertised, and in December – when Slade died – the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* was published.[14] Both the *Letter* and the *Two Treatises* variously presented arguments for the constitutional structure of nations based on close readings of Scripture, and advocated the clearing away of what Locke saw as faulty arguments, beliefs and customs. The *Essay* was different in that it described the parameters and capacity of the tool with which one could make inquiries, search truths and come to beliefs, yet its arguments also had obvious theological and political ramifications.[15]

By the time that Locke was preparing to return to England, something was wrong with Slade, the vibrant Collegium physician. In a letter to Phillip van Limborch, Locke described Slade as suffering from a terminal mental 'wound':

> Sicknesses that derive from the mind are not easily remedied, especially at an age and with a temperament which do not bear adversity lightly, and when there is no advice or consolation in the home. Do all you can to alleviate his trouble; his uprightness, learning, and sincerity deserve all the help a friend can give. I augur

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12 *NNBW*, vol.9, 1038-1039.

13 Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1691), 2 vols, vol.1, 338.

14 'Locke wrote his *Letter Concerning Toleration* to Limborch, while he was hiding at the house of Veen in winter of 1685, and Limborch arranged for the first Latin publication of Locke's *Letter* in the Netherlands and helped to persuade Locke that it should be printed', Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture*, 482.

15 For instance, the way that the *Essay* argues that moral principles are not written in the heart and soul, which James Tyrrell comments on later in this chapter as having infuriated Oxford divines. Also, the way that the *Essay* emphasised the privacy and impenetrability of unspoken thoughts (III.ii.1) seemed to further define and affirm the idea of a private, internal space in which one might commune with God, which was so vital to Locke's freedom of conscience argument. Mark Goldie, ed., *The Reception of Locke's Politics* (London, 1999), 6 vols, vol.1 provides more information on the immediate reception of Locke.

> as well for the affairs of your people as you do ours; we are now both aboard the same ship.[16]

As Locke prepared to travel to his native land, he urged Limborch to play steward to their ailing friend, evoking the meritorious qualities of learning and uprightness to delineate Slade as deserving of friendly help. At this point Locke seems to have imagined Slade continuing to live in Amsterdam, yet Slade did not, and he spent his last year travelling around the Netherlands and then travelling to England. Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* both explain that Slade came to England in autumn 1689, 'hoping to further his career as a physician'.[17] The story tells of how he 'retired to *Oxon* in Dec. following to see it, the Colleges, Libraries, and learned Men there'. Wood includes the story of Slade's unexpected death, a death that was presided over at every point by learned figures:

> [Leaving Oxford, Slade] went in the Stage-coach towards *London*, but being taken suddenly with an Apoplectical fit on *Shotover* hill, two miles distant from *Oxon*, died thereof before he came to *Wheatley*, on *Friday* the twentieth day of the same month, being the Eve of St. *Thomas* the Apostle. Whereupon his body being lodged in a common Inn there, was, by the care of *James Tyrrell* Esq and Dr. *Edw. Bernard* one of the *Savilian* Professors, conveyed thence the next day to the *Angel Inn* in *Oxon*, where lying till the day following, was buried in the yard (near to, and behind the West door leading therein,) belonging to the Church of St. *Peter* in the *East*, at which time were present certain Doctors of, and Graduats in, Physic, and Masters of Arts.[18]

St Peter-in-the-East has now been converted into a library for St Edmund Hall, and the graveyard lies in an enclosure made by that college. Physically and in his legacy, Slade resides in posterity amongst the world of books, 'Doctors', 'Graduats', and 'Masters', safely interred in a distinguished context of letters and learning. Yet his journey to this final resting place was not smooth, and this chapter details the anxiety and sadness his decline caused for the rest of his circle as he failed to keep up with the general culture of the network. It also charts Locke and Limborch's efforts to offer 'all the help a friend can give', and their hand in interring Slade in his final resting place.

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[16] L.1093, Locke to Limborch, 18 December 1688 (Latin).
[17] Stephen Wright, 'Matthew Slade (1628-1689)', *ODNB*.
[18] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol.1, 338.

i. Slade's ancestry: the 'walking library'

In both Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the younger Slade's life comes kernelled inside the lives of his father and grandfather.[19] The original reason for this 'Russian doll' structure was that the elder Slade was one of the Oxford worthies, and so his progeny were listed as subcategories. In the English biographical tradition, Slade comes safely tucked into the history of that 'clear spring of Literature and Wisdom', the university at which his grandfather studied and at which he coincidentally died.[20] Slade's grandfather had a history of involvement in Anglo-Dutch religious debate and critical reading and publishing. In some ways the debates of his time prefigured the debates of 1689, as both centred on questions of the links between Church and State, and the right to freedom in religous matters.

The elder Matthew Slade (1569-1628) was born at South Perrot in Dorset to John and Joan Slade. He attended St. Alban Hall, Oxford, yet returned to the West Country where he is said to have taught at a school.[21] Slade senior moved to Amsterdam in the early 1590s with his first wife, where he became an elder of the Separatist 'Ancient Church', and a vice-rector (1598), and later rector (1600), of the Latin school.[22] When the Ancient Church was dissolving in scandal, Slade was banished from it for his sympathy with Dutch Reformed worship, and he moved towards that church thereafter, promoting the new English Reformed Church (est. 1607).[23] Wood writes that in Amsterdam this elder Matthew Slade was 'esteemed, by all that knew him, an excellent Latinist, a good Grecian, one well read in profound authors, a stiff enemy to the Socinians, and a walking Library', and he was also proficient in Arabic and Hebrew.[24]

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19 But not in the *NNBW* as will be discussed in the footnotes below; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol.1, 337.

20 Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol.1, 1.

21 'Matthew Slade (1628-1682)', *ODNB*; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol.1, 337: Wood describes the West Country as Slade's 'native Country', and though he undoubtedly uses the term to indicate Slade's birth country, the issue of nativity as 'belonging to or connected with something by nature or natural constitution' was present in the minds of Wood's contemporaries, as we shall see when Locke moves back to England.

22 Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1982), 63.

23 Matthew Slade, *Matthew Slade 1569-1628: Letters to the English Ambassador* ed. Willem Nijenhuis (Leiden, 1986), 4-5.

24 Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol.1, 337; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 91; Nijenhuis in Slade, *Letters to the English Ambassador*, 9-11.

The penultimate item in Wood's list, which describes the older Slade as 'a stiff enemy to the Socinians', refers to the Arminian controversy that Slade became involved in following his second marriage, to Suzanna de Kampenaer in 1608, the stepdaughter of the high Calvinist Peter Plancius.[25] Sympathetic to Plancius's views and urged on by the English ambassador Sir Ralph Winwood, Slade published against Conrad Vorstius, Arminius's proposed successor at Leiden in 1612. In doing so he backed up king James's *Declaration*, a document that opposed the appointment of Vorstius on the grounds of his being 'a wretched *Heretique*, or rather *Atheist*', to the Leiden faculty.[26] James's *Declaration* (as it was published in England) reproduced the correspondence he had exchanged with the Amsterdam authorities, explaining that 'the Curators and Bourgmasters of Leyden for their parts did specially declare [...] that there was never any intention to permit other Religion to be taught in the University of Leyden'.[27]

James's *Declaration* portrayed the quick and dangerous flow of ideas from Holland to England, explaining that before he had received an answer about Vorstius from the States General, 'some of *Vorstius* Bookes were brought over to *England*.' The *Declaration* borrowed contamination imagery to describe the circulation of printed heterodoxy as a rot spreading through the land:

> this gangrene had not only taken hold amongst our neerest neighbours; so as *Non solum paries proxemas iam ardebat*: not onely the next house was on fire, but did also begin to creep into the bowels of Our owne Kingdom; For which cause, having first given order, that the said Books of *Vorstius* should be publikely burnt, as well in *Paules* Church-yard, as in both the *Vniversities* of this Kingdome, We thought good to renew Our former request to the States, for the banishment of *Vorstius*[28]

It was through books, libraries and universities that James perceived ideas to enter the national mind, which would then presumably then rub salt in its own wounds with infectious talk. James was reacting to perceived insults against the Trinity and what he

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[25] Nijenhuis in Slade, *Letters to the English Ambassador*, 6.

[26] King James I, *His Majesties Declaration concerning his Proceedings with the States Generall of the United Provinces of the Low Countreys, in the cause of D. Conrad Vorstius* (London, 1612), 2. Slade's book was *De Blasphemiis, Haeresibus et Atheismis* (Amsterdam, 1615). Vorstius's views are described by Jan Rohls, 'Calvinism, Arminianism and Socinianism in the Netherlands until the Synod of Dort' in Mulsow and Rohls, ed., *Socinianism and Arminianism*, 3-48; 21-32. For a discussion of James's interests see Frederick Shriver, 'Orthodoxy and Diplomacy: James I and the Vorstius affair', *English Historical Review*, 85 (1970), 449-474. Nijenhuis' introduction to Slade, *Letters to the English Ambassador* offers a good overview of Slade's involvement in this debate.

[27] King James I, *His Majesties Declaration*, 13-14.

[28] James I, *His Majesties Declaration*, 15-16; Nijenhuis in Slade, *Letters to the English Ambassador*, 12.

saw as heretical readings of Scripture; the tension was heightened by the fact that in 1611 Vorstius had written a preface for and published Socinus's incendiary *De Auctoritate Sacrae Scripturae.* In his *Declaration*, James endeavoured to show his personal ability to navigate the mizmaze and read well, and after a description of Vorstius's 'heretical' ideas the pamphlet contained pages of condemnatory excerpts that 'his Majestie with his owne hand' had collected from Vorstius's writings.[29]

Slade's text worked in league with James's efforts, utilising a similar commentary-refutation style. Dedicated to the States General, it accused Vorstius of Christological heresies and Socinianism, provoking a counter-attack from Remonstrant sympathisers including Hugo Grotius and Gerard Vossius.[30] Outraged by comments that Slade had made defaming Erasmus, Grotius and Vossius wrote about him in their letters as a 'despicable outcast from England' who had written a 'filthy' book, orientating his unscrupulousness back with his native land, and inverting the tropes of contagion that James had used, ascribing filthiness to arguments which were intended to be detergent.[31] The elder Slade acted as a link between Dutch and English orthodox commentators on the Vorstius debate, translating texts back and forth between the two languages.[32] To go back to Wood's description then, the reason that the elder Slade had any potency in his enmity against the so-called 'Socinians' was because of his status as a 'walking library' with a fluency in biblical and classical authors.[33] In an argument about Scripture and belief, books and knowledge were weapons, and only those who could command them (those who had 'the true Key of Books') were agents.

When Slade the elder died in 1628 in Amsterdam, and was buried on St. Valentine's Day in the Zuiderkerk, his eldest son, Cornelius, succeeded him as rector of the Latin school

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[29] James I, *His Majesties Declaration*, 29 onward.
[30] C. S. M. Rademaker, 'Gerardus Vossius (1577-1649)', *ODNB*. For more on Grotius's and Vossius's writings at this time see Luisa Simonutti, 'Resistance, Obedience and Toleration: Przypkowski and Limborch' in Mulsow and Rohls, ed., *Socinianism and Arminianism*, 187-206: 'It was the fact of the German theologian Conrad Vorstius being called to fill the chair; which had belonged to Arminius that *triggered* the most severe accusations of Socinianism to be levelled against the exponents of the Arminian sect', 189. Grotius wrote a careful commentary on the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ and Vossius wrote a history of Pelagian doctrine for the purpose of distancing the Dutch Remonstrants from accusations of Socinian heresy.
[31] Nijenhuis in Slade, *Letters to the English Ambassador*, 14.
[32] 'Matthew Slade (1628-1682)', *ODNB*, The correspondents included Sibrand Lubbertus, George Abbot and Thomas Morton, dean of Gloucester.
[33] The *OED* defines a walking library as 'a person who has great stores of knowledge at his or her command', citing Wood's definition of Slade as one of the examples.

and was appointed professor of Hebrew and other languages. Though the 'walking library' had died, the family profession was passed down, and Cornelius was able to retain his father's role and erudition. Cornelius married the daughter of an English preacher and she gave birth to the young Matthew Slade in England in June 1628, making him just a few years older than Locke.[34] Slade was a scholar by heredity, and there is no doubt that his proficiency in Greek came partly from the family tradition for classical languages.

ii. Locke crosses to England

Locke's Dutch friends felt personally and politically linked with English affairs. In April 1689, upon hearing that 'the sceptre was offered to the king and queen', Limborch's son cried tears of joy and prayed 'that Mr Locke may ever be closely united to [his pseudonym] Mr. van der Linden, and that no tempest in the state may sunder the one from the other.'[35] Before Locke left, he and Limborch planned the structure of their changing relationship. Evoking the age-old notion of *amicitia*, Limborch wrote 'when you are at home again in England let there be no interruption in our exchange of letters, the one sure means of preserving friendship between the absent'.[36] He signed this letter 'Vale animae dimidium meae': 'Goodbye, thou half of my soul'.[37] In another letter, Limborch explained 'our friendship is not of the sort that Erasmus says thrives better on silence than on conversation or exchange of letters', adding 'I will break into your house with

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[34] Unlike Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* and the *ODNB*, the Dutch dictionary of national biography, the *NNBW*, features separate entries on all three Slades: Cornelius and the younger Matthew are in vol.9, 1037-1039, and the older Matthew is in vol.2, 1323-1324. The *NNBW* dwells on the careers of the men, explaining (instead of Wood's 'stiff enemy to the Socinians' comment) that the elder Slade was involved in the Vorstius debate ('den pamfletten-oorlog'), and how the younger Slade was offered a job at Leiden after J. A. van der Linden, the name Locke adopted for his exile persona, died. The professional life of all three men is much fuller in the *NNBW*, but when it comes to the younger Matthew Slade's death the story dovetails with the English version and tells of how: 'Toen hij een bezoek aan Oxford had gebracht overleed hij plotseling op de terugreis naar Londen in zijn reis-koets' – he had died of a stroke on his way back to London from Oxford.

[35] Locke and Limborch had met in January 1684 over the dissection of a lioness; see Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture*, 482 on their meeting and relationship.

[36] I understand the concept of *amicitia* as it is described by Lisa Jardine in *Erasmus, Man of Letters* (Princeton, 1993), 153: 'that most cherished of classical bonds (*amicitia*) which ensures communication and understanding'.

[37] L.1101, Limborch to Locke, 27 January 1689 (Latin).

my letters'.[38] Limborch asked Locke to deliver a letter to Gilbert Burnet, and he described the act of making Locke his letter-deliverer as a mark of their 'familiarity'.[39]

Locke crossed the seas to England on 12 February, at a similar time to Princess Mary.[40] In his farewell letters to Limborch he described his departure as physically textured, noting the storms that kept him on the continent. A real tempest in the atmosphere cleaved him *to* Dr. van der Linden: 'First, there was the ice and the hurry, and then on the journey itself I was caught by rain,' Locke wrote.[41] Then, passing Delft, en route to see Lady Mordaunt, 'I was drenched by a pretty violent downpour', which continued to The Hague. 'So I was wet through when I reached her,' Locke continued, in response to which Mordaunt 'forbade a night-journey as too dangerous for my health.' As Locke neared the coast it was the wind, not the rain, which aggrieved him. He described how he and Mary were 'waiting for nothing but a suitable sailing wind, and as soon as that comes we must rush to the ships.'[42] Locke's written descriptions of the weather fulfilled the task of linking him to Limborch by documenting his real physical wrench from the locale.

Locke wrote to Limborch about how he disliked waiting to sail, writing that: 'nothing is a greater annoyance that to be saddled with inactivity until one is sick of it'. To express waiting Locke used the Latin verb *languescere*, a sister to the English word 'languor', which was a well-known symptom of melancholy in the seventeenth century.[43] Yet Locke could never be considered melancholic; he was not languishing because of circumstances within him, but because of circumstances without, and the letter to Limborch described how the bad weather and the unsuitable winds threatened him with an unhealthy state that his healthy motivation resisted. In the postscript to the same letter, Locke inquired about Slade:

> I should like to know what our friend Slade is doing; I am much concerned for his welfare, and rightly so. Tell him he must not vegetate, now that the affairs of his friend and his country (for he is a countryman of ours) are prospering, and

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38 L.1106, Limborch to Locke, 5 February 1689 (Latin).
39 L.1106, Limborch wrote 'You see what familiarity I use with you by burdening you with my correspondence at the moment when you are leaving us.'
40 Some accounts claim that Locke was on the same boat as Mary (viz. Milton in 'John Locke (1632-1704)', *ODNB*), but others disagree (viz. Woolhouse in his recent biography of Locke, 265).
41 L.1107, Locke to Limborch, 6 February 1689 (Latin).
42 L.1107.
43 In this instance De Beer has translated this to the verb 'dawdle', L.1107.

> whatever further may proceed from a sincere friend, for I value him highly and am very fond of him.[44]

'Vegetate' here is produced from that same verb *languescere*. Here, Locke considers Slade to be inwardly inclined towards wilting and weakening, and urges Limborch to motivate him into action. In this letter Locke expressed his joy at thinking of Limborch's 'scholarly mind': his *doctrinam animum*, giving a further sense of the virtues that he considered Limborch and Slade to share, and he pledged himself to be 'a sincere friend' engaged in a relationship of mutual worth with the two men.[45]

Despite the hazardous journey back home, Locke's spirits were running high, and friends congratulated him on the new monarch.[46] Yet, as refreshing as the civic atmosphere in England may have been, the meteorological atmosphere was wanting; the London air, 'so heavy with the fumes of coal,' was aggravating Locke's sensitive chest.[47] Hearing of Locke's illness, Veen wrote to Locke that he should 'know how to choose a healthier atmosphere' for himself. If a healthy atmosphere is not 'obtainable' in England, Veen wrote, 'then here is ours, which you know by experience to be good for your constitution and which we willingly offer you'.[48] In the face of insalubrious English air, the air of the Netherlands extended its hospitality to Locke, as Veen and the other members of the Collegium did. Locke had not only been accepted into the intellectual environment, but also the physical. The republic of letters had a climactic facet. Veen insinuated that Locke's constitution did not match his native elements, and that his friends' Dutch air was good for his wellbeing. Then the letter turned to Slade:

> Dr. Slade, who for a long time had absented himself from the Collegie and from medical practice, has turned up again; at the moment he is at Leyden, meaning to return from there shortly, as he may perhaps put up his father's library and also a part of his own for sale this month.[49]

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[44] L.1107. In this same letter Locke explained how the Dutch circle had helped him to avoid melancholy, and he writes that their 'kindness brought it about that in my absence from my own people and at a time of general despondency I felt no mental distress'.
[45] L.1107.
[46] For example, L.1108, Johannes Verrijn to Locke, 6 February 1689 (Latin).
[47] L.1124, Veen to Locke, 2 April 1689 (Latin).
[48] L.1124. Locke had written about the benefits of Dutch air in his letter to Pembroke (L.797).
[49] I cannot find any information on this original sale, but Slade's library was sold again by book dealers Hendrik and Dirk Boom in Amsterdam in May 1690, *NNBW*, vol.2, 1038.

Owning books was not just a matter of collecting fine objects; it indicated a commitment to the intellectual sphere, as a letter that Locke wrote to Limborch on 12 April shows. In this letter, full of English news, Locke lamented the way he had been preoccupied with practical business, because it meant that he had been deprived of reading time:

> Although I am not undertaking any public duties, yet public affairs and the private concerns of friends somehow keep me so busy that I am entirely torn away from books; at the moment a big auction sale of quite good books is being held here but I have not time even to go and see it; I hope that my old and longed-for leisure will soon be restored to me, so that I may return to the commonwealth of learning and have something to write about to Mr. Le Clerc in that field.[50]

This letter shows that Locke viewed the commonwealth of learning as a place which was linked to the library: the library was like a forge of thought where offerings could be prepared and then used as tickets back into scholarly debate. *News* in this realm meant *new reading*, and being torn away from books meant being torn away from the commonwealth.[51] Book auctions had been taking place in the Netherlands since the late sixteenth century, but the first auction in London is not recorded to have taken place until the late seventeenth century, and Locke seems to have understood and enjoyed the format of the auction as a way of acquiring and viewing reading material.[52] Slade seemed to be moving in a different direction to Locke, dispersing his library as Locke wished to acquire books, and by implication ceasing to read while Locke yearned to.

Later in April, Limborch wrote that he had been reading Locke's newly-published, anonymous *Epistola*: 'a very well-written pamphlet concerning Toleration, composed in the form of a letter, but without giving the name of the author [though Limborch knew who it was]'.[53] Locke's friend was impressed with his argument, and continued: 'I have never read anything on this subject which appealed to me so strongly'. Limborch wrote that anyone who was not persuaded, by reading it, to allow freedom of conscience to all men, would appear to be unreasonable, and 'carried headlong either by blind prejudice or by concern for their own advantage'. Limborch understood the form and purpose of the

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[50] L.1127, presumably Locke meant that he wanted to send something for publication in Le Clerc's scholarly journal.
[51] Richard Yeo explains that Locke used his Library 'as a scholar rather than as a bibliophile' in 'Locke's "New Method" of Commonplacing', *Eighteenth-Century Thought*, 2 (2004), 1-38; 17.
[52] Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote, ed., *Under the Hammer: Book Auctions since the Seventeenth Century* (Bury St. Edmunds, 2001).
[53] L.1131, Limborch to Locke, 26 April 1689 (Latin).

Epistola, and that it was designed to advance a particular argument, so he shared his reading experience with Locke, to show that they were united in the communicative exchange of the publication. He wanted to show that it offered such a clear path through the mizmaze of opinion, that only those with ulterior motives could avoid perceiving it.

Limborch promised to send Locke copies of the *Epistola* and his amanuensis Sylvester Brownover, the latest victim of suspended sea-crossings due to violent storms.[54] He wrote that Slade, who had 'dispersed his very choice library by public auction' was 'considering departure for England'.[55] In Limborch's next letter, a few weeks later, however, Slade had fallen off the radar once more.[56] 'We do not know where Slade is sticking,' he wrote, 'he is believed to have gone to the country; if he is leaving for England he will no doubt say goodbye to us before his departure'.

A few days later in May, a letter from Guenellon followed. Having taken an interest in news of Locke's readjustment to the English air he sent his wishes that, as summer came, Locke's health would continue to flourish.[57] He also sent more news about Slade:

> I believe you will see Monsieur Slade this summer, since he wants to go to England. If he isn't getting too old, people there could benefit from the fruits of his erudition and knowledge, unlike here. I notice that the sale of his library, his last illness, his lack of energy to practice medicine, come principally from his annoyance at not being properly recompensed here for his good actions: but he must take care to rest himself, and he can do it with less loss for the public than you can, who in the chaos which exists in Europe will be an instrument capable of solving many things.[58]

Guenellon linked Slade's mental welfare to his civic status, suggesting that he may be able to find esteem in England. He also tied the sale of Slade's library into the older man's discontents. Guenellon flattered Locke, who is appreciated here as having a high public worth as an answer-giver in a tumultuous Europe. As Locke had suited the intellectual climate of Holland, Slade is depicted as having fallen in discord with it.

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[54] L.1131, 'your servant, who I am sorry had such a wretched buffeting in the storm, but who will, I hope, shortly have a better crossing.'
[55] L.1131. The word that Limborch uses to describe Slade's library is 'elegantissimam'.
[56] L.1134, Limborch to Locke, 6 May 1689 (Latin).
[57] L.1135, Guenellon to Locke, 8 May 1689 (French).
[58] L.1135.

In May 1689, William passed the Toleration Act in England affording freedom to worship to all but 'the Romans', an event that Locke of course wrote to his overseas friends about, mentioning the translation into English of the *Epistola* and expressing a wish the ideas in it 'might everywhere prevail'.[59] The rumours from the Netherlands, replied Limborch, are that the *Epistola* was written by a Remonstrant, or someone 'who may not be living in Remonstrant circles, [but] is nevertheless imbued with Remonstrant teaching.' This term described someone from the school of thought characterised by Arminius, predecessor of Vorstius, whom Slade the elder had opposed many years previously. Limborch was a prominent Remonstrant theologian, and so was pleased that 'so scholarly a book, and one of such service to the common cause of Christianity, should be thought incapable of proceeding from anywhere else than the Remonstrant workshop'.[60] We saw above how Guenellon had described Locke as being like an instrument, and here Limborch describes Locke's books as instrumental, working to the service of the Christian religion. Among the Dutch, civic harmony was viewed in terms of religious peace, as Johannes Verrijn's comment in a contemporary letter to Locke shows:

> I congratulate you and all your countrymen on the safety and security that have fallen to the lot of your kingdom and churches, not without signal proofs of divine providence.[61]

iii. Devoid of his library, Slade appears uncertain

In July, understanding that the letter he had lodged with Slade was not *en route*, Limborch wrote again to Locke.[62]

> It is three weeks and more, however, since he said good-bye to us about to leave for England; now he is wandering through the towns and villages of Holland, undecided as to when he will go, or even whether he will go at all. If he goes he is to give you my letter.[63]

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59 L.1147, Locke to Limborch, 6 June 1689 (Latin).
60 L.1158, Limborch to Locke, 8 July 1689 (Latin), For a discussion of the *Epistola* and Remonstrantism see Jonathan Israel, *Locke, Spinoza and the Philosophical Debate Concerning Toleration in the Early Enlightenment (c.1670-1750)* (Amsterdam, 1999), especially 8-11.
61 L.1108, Verrijn to Locke, 6 February 1689 (Latin).
62 L.1158.
63 L.1158. It is interesting to compare the speed of Slade's journey here with L.1070, Locke to Limborch, 20 July 1688, which shows that Locke had considered Slade to be fairly quick and impatient, and he writes that Slade 'cannot put up with slowcoaches'.

Veen, writing on 15 July, explained that the 'Collegie' where Locke had spent so many happy days was quiet and unattended: 'Mijnheer van Limborch is away from town just now on account of the holidays.'[64] As part of his report on the group he too mentioned Slade:

> Dr. Cyprianus has been in your country and Dr. Slade has threatened to make his way to you. But that gentleman hastens very slowly; in the words of our proverb 'he goes crab fashion' [*hij gaet de kreeffte gangh*]. He said good-bye to his friends some time ago as if on the point of departure. First of all he made for Utrecht to see his friend Hubert; from there he went to Haarlem, where he stayed for some days with Arminius and his cousin Margaret; from there to the Hague; then into the country not far from here; now he is at Utrecht once more, and yet he wishes it to appear that he has not changed his mind; when you see him in person you will find him not so shy of explaining himself.[65]

Guenellon, writing a few days later, further embroidered this news. He wrote, satirically: 'Slade prowls the country without finding the path that leads to England'.[66]

In response, Locke penned a letter in early August to return with Cyprianus to Amsterdam. '[T]hat pamphlet on Toleration' has not yet reached the English shops, he reported, but his own (un-anonymous) 'treatise on the Understanding' had gone to press, and a copy of 'Book I' had been sent to Le Clerc to be translated, via Cyprianus and other members of the Collegium.[67] 'I am wondering about our friend Slade', Locke continued. 'If he comes over here I shall be glad of a good neighbour, but it seems he has not made up his mind'.[68] It was now six months since Locke left the Collegium; Slade has been abroad all that time. As Cyprianus passed back and forth across the sea, Slade tarried, his *animus* uncertain; everyone who wrote about him at this time described him as changeable and unfixed. When Locke had left Holland we saw how he and Limborch had established a subtle structure of communication which made them seem close and connected though they were geographically apart. As Slade fell out of the circles of book and letter technology he appeared slow to his friends, both geographically and mentally leaden, unable to find the point of departure for England and unable to deliver messages across the sea. Locke's sense of uneasiness about Slade carries through in this letter, as

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64 L.1159, Veen to Locke, 15 July 1689 (Latin).
65 L.1159, In the Latin original that one phrase appears in Dutch.
66 L.1161, Guenellon to Locke, 16 July 1689 (French).
67 L.1172, Locke to Limborch, 7 August 1789 (Latin).
68 L.1172, the Latin is 'sed videtur incertus animi'.

we realise that the days are getting shorter, and the summer, in which Guenellon thought Locke would see Slade, is elapsing.

Limborch's next missive confirmed that the Dutch bookseller had told him that copies of 'that pamphlet on Toleration' had been dispatched to England.[69] He also told Locke that a theological argument that had broken out between Samuel Strimesius – whose *De pace ecclesiastica* Limborch would later have bound with 1705 editions of the English translations of Locke's *Epistola* – and one of Strimesius's colleagues, Becmann.[70] Becmann had written against Strimesius's dissertation, polling and collating the views of continental universities to condemn Strimesius as 'an Arminian, indeed a Socinian.'[71] The whole event was contrived, Limborch suggests, because Becmann wanted to prevent his adversary from succeeding to the post of professor of theology at Frankfurt-on-the-Oder.[72] Limborch told Locke that he had been collecting materials for his *History of the Inquisition*, which would contain detailed descriptions of the torture of Protestants by the Inquisitors. Limborch had done some research but was not yet ready to write, and he explained: 'I should not wish any published work of mine to be historically inaccurate.' Limborch was composing the work in communication with Peter Allix, his correspondence with whom was being delayed by Slade:[73]

> Our friend Slade after protracted wanderings has at last reached the Brill, meaning to cross to England if he should fall in with pleasant company. Perhaps then you will see him soon together with a letter of mine, which was written three months ago.

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[69] L.1178, Limborch to Locke, 6 September 1689 (Latin).
[70] John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture*, 485.
[71] L.1178. See Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture* on the meaning of Socinianism in Holland: 'Formal prescription of Socinian anti-Trinitarianism was, in Israel's words in *Dutch Republic*, the "pivot of intellectual and theological censorship" from the 1650s to the end of the century"', 174. In England 'the Toleration Act of 1689 provided indulgence from the penalties of the law for worship outside the Church of England only to Trinitarian Protestants. English Socinians who publicly and repeatedly denied the Trinity faced fines and jail terms. Socinianism was still depicted in this period by many of its English opponents, as by its Hugenot opponents, as a heretical poison murdering souls', 190.
[72] L.1178n.
[73] L.1187, Limborch to Locke, 27 September 1689 (Latin). Vivienne Lamarnie, 'Peter Allix (1641-1717)', *ODNB*. Allix was the son of Pierre Allix, pastor of the Reformed church at Alençon in Normandy. Allix published a flurry of anonymous pamphlets in 1689 on government and the Oath of Allegiance. 'Limborch's work was also composed in the midst of correspondence and exchange of manuscripts with Allix, Burnet's protégé as chaplain at Salisbury and leading Whig defender of 1688-9', Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture*, 628-629.

Indirectly then, Slade was now causing historical inaccuracy by delaying the communication that Limborch required to complete his work. Allix, a tolerationist Hugenot, had been researching the persecuted groups of Waldensians and Albigensians, and writing about the Inquisition. He had also written on the topic of *jure divino*, drawing him into league with the argument of Locke's *Two Treatises*. For Allix, divine right theorists 'endeavoured to delude the World, by alledging the Holy Scripture and Fathers, in favour of their opinions. But herein they have behaved themselves as the Heretics do, in citing the Scripture and Tradition in the defence of their novelties.'[74] As Locke's circle tried to pull together to deliver timely and politic demystifications of these perversions of Scripture, Slade's inability to convey letters caused a lag: Slade disabled the reading and writing mechanisms they relied on.

Things were still up in the air in England, but following the Toleration Act, Locke wrote back to Limborch, 'those who differ from each other have been conducting themselves much more peaceably and moderately than I had expected'.[75] He asked Limborch to send him, via the earl of Pembroke who would be returning any day, 'a whole or half-pound of the best tea'. He wanted 'the best tea, even if it should cost forty gulden a pound', 'a good and tasty kind', and to be sent with copies of the *Acta Eruditorum* (the Germanic scientific journal) and some other pamphlets.[76] Locke was disappointed at the slow circulation of the *Epistola*, and 'surprised at the remissness of the booksellers, your or ours,' as he could not find his own tract or Strimesius's *De Pace* 'on sale anywhere here'.

Duly, Limborch sent the tea.[77] Having gone to the earl of Pembroke's lodgings at The Hague, Limborch had enjoyed scholarly and learned conversation with the Englishman, and heard the earl's own theory of arts and sciences. Reflecting upon his encounter with the earl, Limborch explained:

> I admire such diligent and deep reflection and such clarity of ideas in a man of his eminence and distinction of birth; and I am astonished that one who is still so young should display such maturity of judgement, and that too in intricate and involved matters, over which older men, even those who have spent a lifetime in those particular studies, are wont to cudgel their brains; I am struck, too, by the

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[74] Peter Allix, *Reflections upon the Origins of Some Modern Divines* (London, 1689), quoted in Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture*, 564.
[75] L.1182, Locke to Limborch, 10 September 1689 (Latin).
[76] Literally 'Acts of the Scholars', established at Leipzig in 1682.
[77] L.1184, Limborch to Locke, 20 September 1689 (Latin).

> lucidity and precision with which he expresses himself. I am indebted to you anew for the fresh benefit you have conferred on me in providing me with access to so great a man[78]

It is important to note that Locke is thanked for providing 'access' to Pembroke, and that just as Slade fails to provide access to Pierre Allix Locke succeeds in this networking role. Pembroke had become Limborch's new scholarly friend.

After lauding Pembroke, Limborch brought Locke news of his dealings with the Amsterdam bookseller, and in doing so mentioned another library auction, that of Pierre Savouret's books, a French Hugenot. Savouret had died several months previously, and Limborch's mention of this sale is a reminder of that fact that libraries were usually auctioned posthumously. Part of the perversity of Slade's library sale while he was still alive was its incongruence with tradition. The sale of his library in old age without due explanation may have made him seem strangely undead to his friends. Limborch wrote of the wandering doctor: 'As for Slade, I do not know whether he has sailed for England or is still sticking somewhere in Holland'.[79]

A week later, though, everything Limborch wanted to send was 'still sticking somewhere in Holland'.[80] Pembroke had not sailed, and a new letter was added to Limborch's last. Limborch wrote that the Amsterdam bookseller, Waesberge, said that he had sent a hundred copies of the *Epistola* and Strimesius's dissertation to Samuel Smith, the London bookseller 'about two months ago', and that he knew that the ship that carried them reached England 'some time ago'.[81] Limborch expressed interest in Richard Kidder, 'a scholarly man' who had been appointed to William III's commission to review the liturgy for the possible comprehension of dissenters.[82] 'I entrusted Slade with a letter to him, enclosed, I think, in one to Mr. Allix,' Limborch explains, 'but as Mr Slade has been wandering about in our country for a long time I have written him another'. Like Allix, Limborch and Locke, Kidder's interventions were timely and politic, and all of these men were working with the momentum of the events of 1689. Unable to keep up and out of metabolic sync with politics, Slade was expunged from the communicative sphere and bypassed.

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78 L.1184.
79 L.1184.
80 L.1187.
81 Marja Smolenaars and Ann Veenhoff, 'Samuel Smith (1658-1707)', *ODNB*.
82 William Marshall, 'Richard Kidder (1634-1703)', *ODNB*.

Writing back to Limborch on 3 December, Locke thanked him for the tea and the books. 'Today,' he wrote, 'as I hope, the last sheet of my treatise on the Human Understanding has been printed,' 'the die is cast, and I am now embarked on the open sea.' Locke had launched his reputation into the turbulent public arena. Having just released the *Essay* into the world, Locke's comments on Limborch's meeting with Pembroke seem particularly interesting. 'I am glad you were pleased with our ambassador,' Locke wrote;

> I do not refer to outward appearance and splendour of state, though those things cannot have been wanting; I mean that part which makes us men, the mind and the power of thought.[83]

The *Essay* was dedicated to Pembroke, and it seems suitable that, upon having put his book, which examined human understanding, through the press, Locke reflected on Pembroke's mind and 'power of thought' as the qualities that made him human. Locke finished his letter by announcing that Slade has at last arrived in England. As Locke cast his die and embarked his *Essay* on the open sea, Slade did the same thing, and finally sailed.

iv. *Lypothymia* in London

Slade had, Locke wrote, delivered Limborch's long-overdue letters, but about the rest of his affairs Locke was rhetorically ominous: 'About our friend Slade I do not know what to say', he wrote, continuing that he had only seen Slade once since he arrived in London, as they kept missing each other's calls.[84] With great difficulty, Slade and Locke had managed one normal transaction: Slade had left a short note at Locke's lodging asking for some books, and Locke had obliged, yet a few days after Locke deposited the books for Slade, a query was raised by Adam Francke, a Unitarian minister in London.[85] Locke explained:

> [Francke] came to see me and said that Slade had left his lodging some days before and had not yet returned, nor did any one know where he had gone. He

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[83] L.1213, Locke to Limborch, 3 December 1689 (Latin).

[84] L.1213.

[85] 'Adam Frank was a Hungarian Unitarian minister in London', see John H. Appleby, 'John Huniades (1620/1-1696)', *ODNB*.

> added that since Slade's arrival in London he had three times fallen completely insensible in a fainting-fit. This was alarming, and a search was made for him. He was nowhere to be seen and not the slightest trace of him could be found. I believed for certain that he had perished in some place where no one knew him.[86]

For 'insensible in a fainting-fit' the original text has the Latin *lypothymia*, literally a lack or departure of *anima* or spirit.[87] Locke's story continues.

> When all hope had been given up, and when a notary public had been called in, in order to have Slade's baggage opened in his presence and an inventory made of the articles left in his lodging, behold Slade himself, just back from Colchester, where he had gone to eat oysters.[88]

With this false-alarm resolved, Locke tells how he was then intent on keeping a close eye on Slade, '[h]owever, within the week he has once more departed unexpectedly and, which may well surprise you, is making at this time of year to Windsor on foot, and intends to go on from there to Oxford.'[89]

In this letter containing the oyster story, Locke continues, adroitly, to say that Francke talks of Slade 'as if he were somehow unsteady in his mind, and one may readily suspect that these are the actions of a man who is not altogether sane.'[90] The burgomaster, Johannes Hudde, had asked Locke to supervise Slade whilst he was in England, and so Locke now asked Limborch to consult Hudde about the problem.[91] If 'Slade's mind is somehow deranged even in a very slight degree,' Locke wrote, 'we shall have to make plans and possibly use some authority to bring things to the position we desire'. Locke instructed Limborch to ask Hudde whether he should 'approach Mr. Hop', Slade's 'fellow-citizen and an envoy here from the States, so that [...] we may control our friend

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86 L.1213.

87 Lypothymia is defined as equivalent to a fainting fit in Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (London, 1656).

88 Locke was not present for this: 'I heard all this from Francke the next day or the day after', L.1213. DeBeer estimates Slade returned to London on 13 November 1689, *Correspondence*, vol.3, 736n. Colchester was renowned for its fine oysters.

89 L.1213.

90 L.1213.

91 L.1213. Johannes Hudde, a mathematician, was a popular and experienced Burgomaster, and was elected eighteen times in his life, Cook, *Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine and Science in the Dutch Golden Age*, 285; On Hudde, Graevius and Swammerdam's relationship to Spinoza see Erik Jorink, '"Outside god, there is nothing": Swammerdam, Spinoza, and the Janus-Face of the Early Dutch Enlightenment' in Wiep van Bunge, ed., *The Early Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic, 1650-1750* (Leiden, 2003), 81-108.

Slade sufficiently to induce him to do what is good for him at Hop's instance'.[92] Locke's discomfort with Slade's volatility is palpable, and his letter assumes collusion between Limborch, himself and Hudde, the three of who would have to make plans to 'control' the old doctor.

Locke was conscious of the delicacy of the situation, and the speed at which gossip spread. In his letter he imagined the news spoken rather than written; 'This is for your ear alone, for I would not wish any rumour of this kind to get abroad in Amsterdam'. He promised Limborch, '[a]s soon as Slade returns I shall visit him and see what state he is in.' Coming off topic, Locke wanted to know how his 'treatise on the understanding' was progressing with Le Clerc.

v. Slade visits Vossius's library

Locke had promised Limborch that if he did not hear from Slade soon then he would have him 'searched for' at Oxford, but there was no need. Slade did write. His letters suggest that he was aware of Locke's role as his supervisor or steward, and that perhaps someone had urged him to make contact. His letters were short and upbeat. Firstly, from Windsor, he began: 'My dear and learned Mr. Locke,'

> I am still hanging on at Windsor in order to see and examine the library of the late Mr. Vossius, and I shall perhaps set out to Oxford with Mr. Bernard and Mr. Hyde, who is the head of the Bodleian library. They too have come here, to my great joy, for the purpose of examining the library and possibly buying it.[93]

Having sold his father Cornelius's library, and some, or all, of his own library (and perhaps some of his grandfather's library) in Amsterdam, Slade had come to England to view one of the greatest private libraries in existence at that time, owned by a recently-deceased Dutch scholar who had been canon of Windsor from 1673: Isaac Vossius, a philologist, and a son of the famous humanist Gerard Vossius, the man who had condemned Slade's grandfather's attacks on Vorstius many years previously.[94] Vossius's

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[92] L.1213. Hop was envoy extraordinary in London from September 1689 to January 1691, *NNBW*, vol.3, 613.

[93] L.1207, Slade to Locke, 24 November 1689 (Latin and Greek).

[94] Richard Popkin writes that Vossius was 'perhaps the last great Renaissance humanist, writing many works on Greek and Latin literature, and on history.' 'The huge work is first a taxonomy of the varieties of polytheism, and second an attempt to show that the personages and activities of

library was eventually acquired by Leiden University and was such a large collection that the library was physically renovated to accommodate it.[95]

The Vossius (or Vos) family had a tradition of historical inquiry into religion, with Gerard writing *Theologia Gentilii* to which was appended *De Origine ac Progressu Idolatriate*, a Latin translation and commentary of Moses Maimonides's tract on idolatry from the *Mishneh Torah* by his son Dionysius (1641). Isaac was an inflammatory figure whose work both questioned Scripture and endorsed biblical scholarship, and he had seen Lord Herbert of Cherbury's deistic *De Religione Gentilium* through the Amsterdam press in 1663.[96] Isaac had written his own *Dissertatio de Vera Aetate Mundi* (1659) in which he sought to uncover a world chronology based on the Septuagint bible. He had also written a book on the Sibylline Oracles, a collection of writings believed to be from the fifth century AD and were of contested importance as a source for early Christian history and belief.[97] Whether or not one agreed with Isaac's proposed date for creation or his interpretation of the oracles, there was no doubt that his library was equipped for advanced scholarship of the highest degree, and its auction was a significant event. As Isaac had been Greek tutor and librarian to Queen Kristina of Sweden, his library had merged with and subsumed some of her notoriously rich store of books, giving it a notable provenance.[98]

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pagan religions are degenerative derivations from the original religion – the Mosaic religion and its Christian development.' 'Vossius apparently felt that his taxonomy of paganism would provide intellectual Christians of his time with a way of understanding how most of the world had strayed from, and had confused, the original revelation.' Newton read Vossius' and made notes on his work, and he also read the commentary on Maimonides. Popkin, *The Third Force in Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Leiden, 1992), 196-201.

[95] Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas: A History of Leiden University Library 1575-2005*, trans. Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen (Leiden, 2004), 39-43.

[96] Justin Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken* (Cambridge, 1992), 140-141.

[97] Paulo Rossi, *The Dark Abyss of Time*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago and London, 1984), 145-152. Locke was interested in debates about the history of the world and had read Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* as L.911 to Tyrrell testifies (14 February 1687). Locke critiques Burnet's theory of the deluge, writing that he could not 'reconcile it either to philosophy, scripture, or itself'. For a full explanation of Vossius's career see David S. Katz, 'Isaac Vossius and the English Biblical Critics 1670-1689' in Richard H. Popkin and Arjo Vanderjagt, ed., *Scepticism and Irreligion in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1993), 142-184.

[98] Thomas Seccombe rev. F. F. Blok, 'Isaac Vossius (1618-1689)', *ODNB*. Queen Kristina had bought both Grotius's library and Isaac's father Gerard's library, and Isaac had helped the queen gather and read texts and acquire new books and manuscripts, officially becoming librarian of Kristina's manuscripts in 1650. F. F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius and His Circle: His Life until his Farwell to Queen Christina of Sweden, 1618-1655* (Groningen, 2000), 452-455. As a younger man, Graevius had been friends with Vossius, and, upon seeing the books that Isaac had selected from Kristina's library, wrote: 'By Jove! What a splendid library! How ample, and how rich in valuable items! [...] Almost all of the best Latin authors are represented several times in manuscript, besides the

The men with whom Slade was viewing Vossius's library were also immersed in the world of books, and as the representatives of Oxford University they were heavily involved in the auction, as both Oxford Univeristy and Leiden University were interested in acquiring the collection, and it is interesting to note that Slade, though he had lived in the Netherlands for a long time, grouped with the English side of this mission. Thomas Hyde was an oriental scholar and librarian of the Bodleian who had published the catalogue of that library in 1674.[99] Edward Bernard was a mathematician and Arabist, who regularly attended book auctions in England and Holland.[100] These old libraries, full of the details of linguistic and religious history, lived on as legacies of the interests of the men who owned them, yet also as repositories of the knowledge needed to compose fresh world-changing books.

Slade added a warm postscript to his letter of 24 November: 'The gentlemen I have mentioned send their regards'. He also told Locke how to reach him in Windsor. From Oxford, in a letter dated 1 December, he wrote again, using the language of avowal: 'Amicissime domine Locke,'

> I reached Oxford yesterday, having left Windsor with my friends Mr. Bernard and Mr. Hyde, who send you their greetings.

Slade was delayed for more than a week at Windsor, he explained, waiting to meet the younger 'Mr. Vossius' and to see 'the late Isaac Vossius's manuscripts'.

> But as I had to make this journey to Oxford unexpectedly, and as my money has run out, I beg you to find some way of sending me three guineas, as they call them, or something of the sort.[101]

Greek, French and German ones, and very special, rare editions of all kinds. Those who know about these matters assure me there is no public library in Holland which can compare with it', Blok, 453.

[99] 'Hyde was an avid collector of languages', P. J. Marshall, 'Thomas Hyde (1636-1703)', *ODNB*. Hyde's book was *Catalogus Impressorum Librorum Bibliothèque Bodlejanae in Academia Oxoniensi* (1674).

[100] Hugh de Quehen, 'Edward Bernard (1638-1697)', *ODNB*. Bernard was very interested in libraries and auctions, and the *ODNB* tells of how in 1969, 'despite poor health, he left with his wife for the auction of Golius's manuscripts in Leiden'. He had visited Amsterdam in 1683 for the auction of Nicholas Heinsius' (an old friend of Vossius's) library.

[101] L.1210, Slade to Locke, 30 November 1689 (Latin and Greek).

He signed off quickly: 'Good-bye, as the post-horse is pressing.' 'Good-bye, best of friends, and keep me in your affections. Posted 1/11 December, from M. Slade, who is yours from the innermost marrow of his soul.'[102] Slade still retains the language of epistolary *amicitia*, and links Locke to his soul in the same way that Limborch had described Locke as being the 'other half' of his soul before Locke left for England earlier in 1689.

As is often the custom with people asking for money, it did not take Slade long to write again. Suddenly anxious about promptness, he wrote a few days later 'I am afraid my host may not be able to find your house, so I beg you once again [...] to send me three or four guineas or other coins, or else to let me know of some way by which I may get the money here'. Slade was with James Tyrrell, Locke's old friend and the custodian of a section of Locke's library, known to Slade as 'that well-born (as they call it) grandson of the great Ussher'.[103] James Ussher, the archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, a moderate Calvinist and anti-papist scholar, had published, in the 1650s, a history of the world, in which he had, following Scaliger and anticipating Vossius, used his expertise in ancient languages, calendars, history, and the Bible to investigate the chronology of the Church and to work out the date of the origin of time.[104] He was another scholar from the tradition of classical philology and great libraries, labelled as one of the most learned men of his generation.

Ussher had been acquainted with both Grotius and Vossius when they had been involved in the Arminianism controversy with Slade in the early seventeenth century. Ussher had commented on Vossius's account of Pelagianism, and had invited Vossius to

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[102] L.1210.

[103] L.1217, Slade to Locke, 5 December 1689 (Latin).

[104] James Ussher, *The Annals of the Old and New Testament Deduced from the Origin of Time* (London, 1658). For an overview of Ussher's work see Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans: Seventeenth-Century Essays* (London, 1987), 120-165. 'His ultimate intention was to write a great *Bibliotheca Theologica* [which he never completed], a massive documentary compilation which would display the Protestant truth, firmly based on three unshakeable pillars: correct Scriptural texts, exact chronology, accurate history. That done, argument, he believed, would cease: the Protestant truth would be obvious to all, and the frivolous and fraudulent hypotheses of popery would simply wither away', Trevor-Roper, 132-133. 'The systems of Ussher and Scaliger were marvels of exactitude which enabled the Christian world to assimilate the histories of the gentile nations to the biblical plan, and to provide a comforting framework within which to accommodate all known historical facts', Katz, 'Isaac Vossius and the English Biblical Critics 1670-1689', 151.

move to Ireland and become dean of Armagh.[105] Ussher had, like the older Slade, been called 'a walking concordance and living library'.[106] As Slade gravitated towards the grand sale, Limborch discussed updated debates of old issues with Locke, writing to him about Le Clerc's account of Jansenism, which appeared to criticise St. Augustine, Pelagius's original opponent on the question of original sin.[107] Tyrrell, whose mother was Ussher's daughter, had collaborated with Locke on an unpublished defence of liberty of conscience against Edward Stillingfleet.[108] They had long been friends, and used to write to each other using the nicknames Musidore and Carmelin. Tyrrell had participated in the thought-provoking conversation that Locke described in the preface to the *Essay*, as one of the circle of 'five or six Friends' who assented to inquire into their own understandings in a systematic manner.[109]

The fact that Slade describes Tyrrell as the grandson of Ussher reveals that Slade liked to cast his aspect back to previous scholars and sense a heredity and interconnectedness of learning. Some of the manuscripts in the Vossius collection that Slade had gone to see pertained to studies that Ussher had undertaken. A few days later he wrote to Locke again to say that he had received the money, with 'eternal thanks,' and that '[t]he distinguished grandson of the great Ussher is doing a great deal for me for your sake; he sends you his friendly greetings, as does Mr. Bernard, that remnant of the Golden Age.'[110] Slade keenly perceives a caesura between an old kind of scholarship and the new, and he presumably identifies Hyde, Bernard, and Ussher with a golden age of classical philology. The term 'walking library' could either be applied in a complimentary or a derogatory sense, but its imagery implied a person who carried information within their being, information that was portable (that 'walked') and presumably perished when the person's life came to an end. In describing Bernard as a 'remnant' Slade describes him as a lingering trace of a previous state of scholarship. The materiality and mortality of these 'walking libraries' is palpable as it becomes obvious in Slade's descriptions that the

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105 Trevor-Roper, *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans*, 145-146.
106 'Ussher lived on, an impressive magazine of accumulated erudition – "a walking concordance and living library" as the unfriendly Heylyn described him – wedded to his obsolescent philosophy, unwearied in his pursuit of facts and manuscripts to support it.' Trevor-Roper, *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans*, 153.
107 L.1215, Limborch to Locke 28 October 1689 (Latin).
108 Mark Goldie, 'James Tyrrell (1642-1718)', *ODNB*.
109 Locke, *Essay*, 'The Epistle to the Reader', 7.
110 L.1218, Slade to Locke, 8 December 1689 (Latin and Greek).

vegetable parts of that knowledge cannot be auctioned off the way that a library of books – which had a longer life and which can be reappropriated – could.

Slade appears to have noticed the comparative materiality of his own body and of the contents of the library. In signing off one letter to Locke from this sequence, he makes a joke on his own health, punning on the word 'skin', and the way it can be used to mean vellum, parchment and manuscripts:

> Good-bye, my dear Sir, and take good care of your health, as I do here of this skin of mine, though I have other pabulum too at hand, manuscripts and books which I can use and enjoy. Good-bye once again. Dated at Oxford by yours, your second self.[111]

Among the libraries and friends at Oxford, Slade seems to have been very happy. He describes himself feeding off the manuscripts and books there: 'pabulum' is nourishment. Locke is urged to preserve his health, whereas Slade preserves his skin, and there is a sense here of Slade imaginatively immersing himself in the culture of reading, and almost becoming an old leathery book, feeding off written matter. Slade does not say that he is using the manuscripts and books *for* anything, and there is a sense that he is taking physical pleasure from the material rather than instrumentalising it in the way that Locke, Limborch and Allix instrumentalised their material.

vi. Disquieting talk and Conrad van Beuningen

Meanwhile, Limborch wrote a long letter to Locke, beginning: 'I am glad the tea and the books reached you safely; I hope the tea was to your liking. There is no better sort on sale here, and I was very pleased with its flavour.'[112] He lamented not having the skills to understand the newly published *Essay* in English, but wrote that it is clear from the epitome 'what great advantage the world will derive from such a scholarly and lucid work.' Limborch awaited replies from Mr. Kidder and Mr. Allix, communications with whom had been delayed by Slade, a subject to which the letter eventually turns.

Limborch writes that had read Locke's letter, with its reports of Slade's insanity, to the burgomaster, and Hudde had replied that he would be deeply obliged if Locke 'would see

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111 L.1218, 'a tu, altero te'.
112 L.1223, Limborch to Locke, 17 December 1689 (Latin).

to him [Slade] and control him'. Limborch writes of Hudde: 'He too knows Slade's temperament; he needs to be discreetly looked after, especially if there is reason to think there are any signs of mental disturbance'. Not only is Locke to take charge of Slade, but the burgomaster 'strongly advises' that he is 'not to say anything to Mr. Hop,' the fellow-citizen and envoy that Locke had wanted to consult. The first reason given for this is that Hop 'has no sort of intimacy with Slade,' and the second is 'because he is a younger man, and would therefore not be likely to have any authority with our friend'. As if an afterthought, the letter continued:

> The burgomaster also added that Mr. Hop was in London with his whole household; so that if he were to get any fuller information about our friend's condition this might easily be passed round his whole household, and so might even get across to this country.

Limborch wrote that the burgomaster had sent Slade some 'wholesome advice' by his own hand, yet word – like oil on water – was already spreading. Limborch explained:

> I am sorry to say, however, that there is already a rumour going about here that various signs of an unsettled mind are being observed in Slade; all the things you mentioned in your letter had already been pointed out, even that journey to Windsor and Oxford, which, it was said, he wanted to make alone and unaccompanied on foot, and at this time of year; for someone who was known to him came back here from London and told a number of people about it.

The great speed of Anglo-Dutch gossip here is striking, as is the interest in it; Slade was a figure of negligible political importance. Yet infinitely faster than Slade's body, or Locke's letters, word travels. Limborch asked Locke '[if] you should detect any other signs of better mental balance in him I beg you to let me know of them by letter, so that I can use them to counteract this disquieting talk'.

Here, in this same letter, Limborch told a long anecdote about a 'deranged man' in Amsterdam, the old burgomaster Conrad van Beuningen. In his youth, Beuningen had been an envoy to Sweden, where he had spent time with his friend Isaac Vossius in the Swedish court.[113] Beuningen had deteriorated in his old age, and Limborch evoked him in relation to Slade, as an example of how bad insanity could get:

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113 Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his Circle*, 421-427. For van Beuningen's political activity see Wouter Troost, 'William III, Brandenburg, and the construction of the anti-French coalition, 1672-88' in Jonathan Israel, ed., *The Anglo-Dutch Moment* (Cambridge, 1991), 299-333.

> [H]e writes letters to everyone accusing all Christians of terrible heresy and apostasy; he desires the abolition of all government, not only in the Church but in the state as well; he wants to convert the Jews to the Christian faith. Just now he is explaining the Apocalypse; he has thought out some new interpretations of it and is sending his views in writing to anybody and everybody; what moves his wrath, however, is that he cannot get a reply from any one, which he takes as a sign of desperate ungodliness, seeing that though he is charging them all with mortal heresies not one of them is able to reply in defence of his own views, as he concludes from their silence; yet they all persist in their heretical and apostatical practices. There is a strange mixture in him; he has read widely, and the results of his reading now float before his mind indiscriminately and in no sort of order; he has some passages on the duties of Christian life that are well and concisely worded and couched in very forcible language; but they are mixed up with so many absurdities that all their value is lost. His talk is utterly disconnected; in a single hour he discourses on twenty or more subjects; every now and then he returns to one he has already done with and drops it again, all without any judgment or method. I speak from experience. I grieve for the plight of a man who has enjoyed the highest honours in our country[114]

Beuningen had picked up little pieces of the same religious duties and questions that Locke, Limborch, and their forbears had picked up, only he had mangled them into a nonsensical rant. Beuningen had been respected as a statesman, politician and ambassador, yet he had become eccentric in his seniority, reporting sights of flying coffins and fountains of fire, running down the Amstel canal at night condemning his neighbours. 1689 was the peak of his downfall, after which he was taken into state custody.[115]

Beuningen's once good mind is described by Limborch as being like a dropped box of index cards: the information is all there but the ordering, and hence the reason behind the information, is lost. Locke would have precisely recognised Limborch's description of the 'strange mixture' in Beuningen's mind. The degrees of madness he outlined in the

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[114] L.1223.

[115] Geert Mak, *Amsterdam: A Brief Life of the City*, trans. Philipp Blom (London, 1999), 138. van Beuningen had also written an interpretation of *The French King's Dream* (London, 1689) which had been translated and published into several languages. The publisher's note explained the scenario surrounding the pamphlet. 'READER. Among others, who have entertained Us with their Reveries upon a late Dream of the French Kings, Monsieur van Beuningen has been very lately pleas'd to publish at the Hague, his performances upon the same Subject both in French and Dutch. To gratifie the curious of our Nation, they are also now put into English, and the rather, seeing He is a Man so eminent thro' the World, on the account of his several Negotiations and long Ministry of Publick Affairs, and more especially at the Court of Great Britain, where he was Ambassador for many Years: Tho' possibly this States-mans Friends will be sorry to find he has so far out-liv'd himself, That from Secrets he is come to Revelations.' A2.

Essay consisted of 'disorderly jumbling *Ideas* together'.[116] The decline of Beuningen is figured here very much in terms of books and reading. He has 'read widely', but 'the results of his reading now float before his mind indiscriminately and in no sort of order'. He is like a broken commonplace book, and in the sense of that quotation from Locke at the start of this chapter, he is someone lost in the mizmaze, and someone who has lost 'the true Key of Books'. Yet the contents of van Beuningen's disordered system are vital to note. They are all to do with religion and theology, and church and state government, and his revisions of the apocalypse show him pursuing a mock-version of the kind of chronologies that sane biblical scholars had undertaken. He has misread the New Testament and the Old Testament, and appears in Limborch's description as a kind of Lord of Misrule to the toleration campaign, suspecting all his neighbours of apostasy and heresy. For Limborch, Beuningen's madness is marked by his specifically theological irrationality.[117]

Limborch's sense of shame and age is palpable, and as he laments the disorder of the old burgomaster, and the decline of a masterful citizen. He grieves for both the erosion of Beuningen's mind and the possible erosion of his reputation. History did retain the imprint of Beungingen's madness, and though he is still remembered today as a masterful

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[116] *Essay*, II.xi.13. Also see II.xxxiii.4. See Willis' three observations about madmen in Thomas Willis, *Two Discourses Concerning the Soul of Brutes which is that of the Vital and Sensitive of Man*, trans. Samuel Pordage (London, 1683), 201: 'That their *Phantasies* or Imaginations are perpetually busied with a storm of impetuous thoughts [...] Secondly, That their notions or conceptions are either incongruous, or represented to them under a false or erroneous image. Thirdly their *Delirium* is most often joyned Audaciousness and Fury'. Willis' description sounds much more like Beuningen than Slade. Also Porter *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind* (London, 1999) 242-243: 'John Locke [...] who advanced his own explanation of insanity – a psychological hypothesis about the association of ideas'. Comparably, Richard Yeo has written about Locke's involvement with various information and knowledge systems, drawing links between the philosopher's theories of mind and language as set out in his published works, and the practical apparatus of those theories as epitomised by literary forms such as the encyclopaedia and the commonplace book. Whilst writing about Locke's impact on eighteenth-century encyclopaedists Yeo describes how the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* was 'taken up by others as the basis of a crusade for clear and responsible thinking'. Elsewhere, Yeo explains how Locke had been construed as a 'Master of Order' on the basis of both the *Essay* and the theory of commonplacing that he published in the 1686 *Bibliothèque Universelle*. Yeo explains how Locke's library, which comprised 3,641 titles by the time he died, was linked to his *adversaria* in a complex and time saving method of ordering, providing him with 'dedicated pathways to his library'. Yeo, 'John Locke's "New Method of Commonplacing', 1, 34, 17; Yeo, *Encyclopaedic Visions: Scientific Dictionaries and Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge, 2001), 158.

[117] The *Essay* is usually hailed as the Lockean text that defines kinds of sanity and madness, yet it could only ever describe sanity structurally, but not explain the crucial contents of what that sane structure was supposed to hold or be capable of acquiring. Though we could say that Lockean madness can be characterised by mis- or disconnected ideas, what those ideas are has great cultural significance.

statesman, he is also remembered as superstitious and insane, and tourists visiting Amsterdam can see *het huis met de bloedvlekken*; 'The house with the bloodstains', the walls of which van Beuningen covered with Hebrew inscriptions, allegedly scrawled in his own blood.[118]

vii. News of Slade's death

It was a week or so later, days before Christmas, when Locke received his next instalment of the story. On 22 December James Tyrrell sat down to write his third letter to Locke in three days. All three letters, which Tyrrell had intended to send separately, were enclosed together. He explained: 'These enclosed should have come to your hands last weeke; the lesser by the letter carrier on Saterday; and the bigger by Dr: Slade'. The old man had been entrusted again as a messenger, but alas, as Tyrrell explained, the letters would have been delivered by Slade '[i]f it pleased God not to have brought him to his Journeys end before he could reach London'.[119] Slade had died, and communication with or via him had permanently ceased.

Tyrell had written his first missive when Slade had announced that he was going to 'returne to London': a terse, personal letter about what a bad friend Locke was. He complained of making '20 visites [to Locke] without ever being repayed one,' citing 'signs of a decaying freindship (sic)'. Locke was told that he could either use the letter 'as a spur to quicken a decaying Friendship, or else let it sinke into a bare civil acquaintance; for I hope we shall not make a publick quarrell of it'. Tyrrell sent news that the *Essay* was being sold in Oxford and was 'well approved by those who have began the reading of it'. He would have written earlier, he says, but he was waiting for 'a latine booke of my Grandfathers which is newly come out de SS: in Lingua vernacula legendis', James Ussher's exhaustively researched book about the history of vernacular scripture.[120] He also remarked on another new book in town: 'a very solid, and rational, treatise call'd of

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[118] Building 216 on the Amstel canal, Mak, *Amsterdam*, 134-135. Mak notes the graffiti comprises 'stars, a sailing ship, some strange signs, part of a name' and have been 'impossible to remove, despite all the efforts of council workers and high-pressure pumps'.

[119] L.1225, Tyrrell to Locke, circa 19 December 1689; L.2226, Tyrrell to Locke, 20 December 1689; L.1227, Tyrrell to Locke, 22 December 1689. Also L.1228, Tyrrell to Bernard, then Bernard to Locke, 24 December 1689 (all English).

[120] Jacob Ussher, *Jacobi Usserii Armachani Archiepiscopi, Historia Dogmatica Controversiae inter Orthodoxos et Pontificios de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis* (London, 1689; though with the printed date 1690).

Government: in which Sir R. Filmers principles are very well confuted'. This was Locke's *Two Treatises*, which Tyrrell himself was accused of authoring.[121]

The second letter, written on 20 December, announced 'the sudden death of the poor Doctor'. Tyrrell included an account of the death, saying that in the night Slade had 'supt very well,' didn't mention an illness, and came down again at eight in the morning 'to drinke a dish of chocolate before he went away in the Coach'. Tyrrell explained how the men had drunk the chocolate together by the fire and chatted while they waited for Slade's lift to arrive: 'I never saw him chearfuller; nor better since he came hither'. Slade's last words were 'Sir, I thank you for all your kindness; I almost owe you my spirit.'[122] Tyrrell was going to Wheatley to arrange for the body to be returned to Oxford, where he hoped it would be 'opend before a Physitian to see what he dyed of and to have a certificate made of it for the satisfaction of his Friends'. The letter announced that Dr. Bernard and Tyrrell planned to have Slade buried in the 'parish church where he dyed'.

The third letter, written on Sunday 22 December, said that the burial has now been moved forwards to that very evening. '20 Doctors of Divinity and Physick and Gentlemen of the University and Towne' who were acquainted with Slade had been invited to attend. Between the second and third letter, the autopsy had been undertaken, as Tyrrell described: 'I ordered the head to be opend in the presence of Dr: Gibbons, and divers other Physitians: who all agreed that he dyed of an Apoplexy', 'the vessels in the brain being more than ordinaryly distended with blood; and the glandules in the small plexus Choroides being sweld to the bignesse: of a small fetche'.[123] Having supplied the administrative and anatomical necessaries, Tyrrell added another narrative account:

> all the account I can give farther of his death (not speaking as yet with the coach man my self) is that he walkt up Shotover Hill and when he came to the Top finding himself not well he tooke some Brandy at the cabbin on Top of the hill. after drinkeing which he fell worse; and so into the Agonyes of death so that before they reacht wheatley he was quite dead.

Slade's belongings, and possibly his remains, were 'lockt up at the Angel Inn', a coaching house on Magdalen bridge that had been previously converted by Thomas Willis into a

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121 L.1225, 'some people doe me the favour to make me the authour of it'.
122 L.1226.
123 L.1227. This was William Gibbons (1649-1728), physician.

sort of medical lodge.[124] And so Locke received the story of Slade's death in a tri-part missive. By the time Locke could begin his duties of relating the news to Limborch, the machinations of Slade's afterlife had already begun. His money had been counted, his belongings inventoried, and his head opened.

On 24 December 1689, lists of Slade's items and funeral expenses were forwarded to Locke by Dr. Bernard on behalf of Tyrrell, so that he could forward them in turn to Slade's Dutch friends.[125] 'Mr. Tyrrels man had the Doctors sword and staffe for his attendance. 2 new Holland shirts and 1 Flannell shirt and a Pair of bearskin gloves of the Doctors were purloyned at the Garge at Wheately', the letter explained. While he was forwarding this practical information to Bernard, Tyrrell used the opportunity to send the eminent scholar a copy of Ussher's history of vernacular scripture.[126] His letter showed attention to the physical characteristics of Bernard's library as well as his projected interest in critical research:

> I have here sent you a Coppy of My Lord Primate late Treatise in Sheets which were I to stay in Toun I would see bound but since I have not time, and do not know whither you do not desire to bind all your books alike, I have rather made bold to send it as it is than to presume to deprive you longer of it.[127]

viii. Cleaning the archive

Having absorbed these sad reports, Locke – the unfortunate middleman – penned a letter to Limborch on 27 December.[128] Forwarding the relevant parts of Tyrrell's correspondence by way of explanation ('the enclosed letter ... will tell you the sad story of his death'), he wrote: 'Ever since our friend Slade left for Oxford I have had a foreboding sense of some trouble for him. Here at last is what the fates have willed'.

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[124] 'As his Oxford practice grew Willis formed a partnership with two physicians, Peter Elliot (1618–1682) and William Day (1604–1665), to lease and renovate The Angel, a dilapidated coaching house located on the High Street near an important Thames crossing at Magdalen Bridge. Catering to rich coaching travellers the physicians provided consultations, lodging, and nursing care as well as proprietary medicines and spa waters. In 1665 Willis and Elliot expanded into an adjacent property.' Robert L. Martensen, 'Thomas Willis (1621-1675)', *ODNB*.

[125] L.1228.

[126] Richard Bentley's letters to Edward Bernard offer an interesting perspective on the sale of Vossius' library and the positioning of Slade's death in the midst of this affair. One letter dated only 'Saturday night' starts: 'Yours much affected me with the surprising news of Mr. Slade's sudden death; though not immature. But your other news is of a nearer relation, if we must always want that pleasure, which I so much expected, of seeing Dr. Vossius's library in the Bodley.' Richard Bentley, *Correspondence*, ed. Christopher Wordsworth (London, 1842), 2 vols, vol.1, 6-7.

[127] L.1228.

[128] L.1229, Locke to Limborch, 27 December 1689 (Latin).

Locke asked Limborch to recover the funds owed in Oxford, writing that Slade apparently carried very little cash, though Francke had thought he 'had seen him in possession of a considerable sum in gold' in London. Locke explained how he, Benjamin Furly, and Francke, 'in company with another Englishman and a notary public' had been to Slade's lodging to make an inventory of belongings left there, as they had previously planned to in the false alarm when Slade went on his oyster-eating trip. Francke had been delegated to write to burgomaster Hudde to explain what they found. Locke sent his apologies to the burgomaster for the bad news.[129]

Limborch responded by getting straight to the matter, eschewing talk of tea and books to address issues surrounding the death; Slade had, for once, made it to the front of Limborch's mind and the top of his letter. The letter that Locke had written on 27 December, bearing the bad news, had not reached Limborch until 7 January. In the mean time, Limborch had received Francke's report of the event, which worried him. Limborch disapproved of the whole tone of Francke's letter, seemingly because of the opening it left for inference, rumour, and bad report. It was not the general sadness of Slade's passing that troubled Limborch, but detail of how he died: Locke's letter, he wrote, 'has relieved us of all the anxiety we had begun to feel from Francke's letter about Slade's death, or rather about the nature of it.'[130] Francke's letter had:

> simply informed Mr. Burgomaster Hudde in general terms of Slade's sudden and unexpected end; there was no mention whatever of apoplexy, which he is believed to have died of

Perhaps with thoughts of Beuningen in his mind, Limborch was worried that Slade's cause of death was something shameful. He sought to close all doubts about Slade's final condition, writing 'Francke is mistaken [...] in thinking that Slade had a not inconsiderable amount of gold with him'. Yet Limborch's displeasure at Francke did not stop there. As delegated, Francke had sent the burgomaster 'a list of the articles which were found in Slade's lodgings'. On reading the list, Limborch explained, the burgomaster was 'somewhat surprised at the mention of a shirt soiled with some kind of purulent discharge, from which it is inferred that Slade was suffering from some kind of

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[129] Two days later, on 29 December 1689, Locke's mentor Thomas Sydenham also passed away.
[130] L.1233, Limborch to Locke, 10 January 1690 (Latin).

bodily ailment'.[131] Limborch, with a tone of annoyance, explained the problem by evoking an administrative and cultural difference between his country and Locke's. 'Notaries in our country are not accustomed to making such observations; they make only a bare list of the articles they find'. Limborch explained the problem further:

> [W]hat troubles the burgomaster is the thought that Slade's enemies [*calumnibandi*] may seize upon this as an excuse for defaming him; he therefore begs that you will write an tell me what indication the discharge gives of the kind of trouble that Slade was suffering from, whether it was haemorrhoids or something like that; so that in this way any malicious persons who have the opportunity of inspecting a public document of this sort, if they desire to blacken his reputation, may have their mouths shut.

As he had mourned Beuningen's legacy, Limborch was concerned about Slade's legacy. Beuningen, evoked earlier by Limborch as a lost cause, had published his own insanity, sending crazed apocalyptic letters around Amsterdam and publishing dream interpretations. Slade, on the other hand, had a chance to enter posterity cleanly. Limborch and Hudde, therefore, desired all public documents relating to Slade's life and death to be sanitised. That description of the dirty shirt soiled with ambiguous matter had to go. In a sense, Limborch appealed to Locke as a physician here, asking him to comment on the cause of Slade's discharge, but his curiosity is not open-ended, and his suggestion that it might be 'haemorrhoids or something like that' clearly directs Locke towards the right kind of answer.

Revealing more of the machinations of Slade's afterlife, Limborch informed Locke that he had had 'Tyrrell's letter containing the account of Slade's death translated into Dutch' for the benefit of the burgomaster and Slade's relations, adding that 'it can now be read by all and sundry'. Limborch anticipated archive-scouring *calumnibandi*, and he hoped to thwart them with good paperwork:

> Dr. Tyrrell's remarkable evidence puts an end to any adverse rumours that have been spread about Slade; for there is nothing in it that points to any unsteadiness of mind, unless we are to count as such that journey of his in England and those occasions on which he slipped away without consulting his friends. So much for that.

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131 'mentionen fieri indusii, sanië quadam infecti, unde colligitur, eum incommodo aliquo in corpore suo laborasse.'

Tyrrell's letter, in which he reported apoplexy as the cause of death, was considered good, and his story was happily translated into Dutch, made public, and added to posterity. Limborch was managing a two-tiered campaign: to protect his scholarly friend's reputation both physically and mentally. The notary's report of purulent discharge was dangerous because it insinuated bodily sleaze, and the rumours of mad actions were dangerous because they insinuated breakdown and shame. Tyrrell's letter had closed the margin of inference on the mad actions, but Limborch awaited a new report on Slade's bodily fluids from Locke to replace the 'dirty' one from Francke. On top of this, the implication of Slade having a lot of gold on his person also opened room for suspicion and inference as to the money's intended use and subsequent disappearance.

Tyrrell was beginning to get impatient for the letter of exchange to defray the expenses of Slade's funeral. In late January he sent a new draft of his invoice, which had increased to 'seaven pounds seaven teen shillings'.[132] In a postscript Tyrrell wrote that he had looked through Slade's belongings left at Oxford and found 'no bill of exchange or any money: nor so much as aney account about any'. At the beginning of February, Locke wrote back to Limborch, confirming on evidence of the loans that Slade had requested (the three or four guineas) and Tyrrell's search, that 'It is certain that our friend had no appreciable sum in gold left when he arrived at Oxford'.[133] Locke said that he did not see the shirt that the notary had described as soiled with 'bloody matter' first-hand. He explained that at Slade's lodgings, after seeing that there was nothing valuable amongst his belongings, he had left the listing of quotidian items such as shirts to Francke, Furly and the other man present. However, Locke had since asked Furly about the shirt and 'he replied at once that it was blood, in his opinion undoubtedly from haemorrhoids' – the cause that Limborch had casually suggested when he ordered a new description. Locke wrote:

> So that notary was wrong in describing as bloody matter what was really blood; but since the shirt had ugly stains he thought fit, as those people do, to give an ugly name to them.[134]

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[132] L.1239, Tyrrell to Locke, 27 January 1690 (English).
[133] L.1242, Locke to Limborch, 2 February 1690 (Latin).
[134] 'male igitur notarius ille saniem appellavit quod cruor fuit'. *Cruor* indicates pure blood whereas *sanies* indicates a mixture of blood and pus.

Locke continued to explain that if Slade had 'come here infected by some discreditable disease,' then, 'as a highly skilled physician,' he would not have 'neglected his health to dash off on the sort of journeys' he made, and nor would he have 'concealed' his illness from Locke. Locke rounds off the explanation, linguistically closing up the margin for inference that Limborch had perceived, by writing: 'There is therefore no room for sinister suspicions'. Managed by Limborch and Hudde, Locke's evidence, Tyrrell's evidence and the evidence of the autopsy had closed the gap of possible slander.[135]

ix. Creating the biography

Once sinister aspects of Slade's bodily and mental condition were subdued, his biographical legacy came into question. Locke forwarded an inquiry for Slade's friends, sent from Tyrrell, on behalf of 'Mr. Wood ... who is now about to compose an account of the eminent men who have been educated [in Oxford]'. The message related that Wood 'desires to know the year and day of the death, place of burial, and epitaph, if any, of the celebrated Matthaeus Slade who wrote so ably against Vorstius'. Wood also wanted to know 'whether he was the grandfather or in what way a blood-relation of the Matthaeus Slade who recently died near Oxford'. Locke dutifully asked Limborch for these details, adding opportunistically 'this may also serve as an opportunity for preserving our own Mattheus's memory for posterity'. Different to Limborch, Anthony Wood had his own agenda, and his own genealogical method of archiving Slade; he wanted dates, locations, and occupations.

Locke explained to Limborch that it was with an idea of preserving Slade the younger's memory that Locke had 'asked Francke to let me have Slade's pedigree, which I found among his papers, a notable record of an ancient stock, and one which will shed lustre on these two men and on their ashes'. The letter explained that Furly was returning to Amsterdam bearing a book for Limborch – '*Usserii dogmaticum de Scripturis et Sacris vernaculis*': that same book by Ussher, Tyrell's grandfather, which had recently been reprinted. Locke wrote that he was embarrassed to be sending Limborch only one old book, 'but' – he joked – 'you must know that in these days the press in our country is

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135 'Nullus igitur sinistris suspicionibus locus est'.

rarely in labour with any serious works of learning'.[136] As he signed off, Locke reminded his friend to emphasise his good intentions towards Slade '[i]f my name should be mentioned again in the presence of the burgomaster'. Locke received a letter from Furly explaining that, before he could travel to the continent and convey Ussher's book to Limborch, he needed '2 days for my self, to take a Catalogue of, and remove my books'.[137] On March eleventh, Limborch replied to thank Locke for 'the learned Archbishop of Armagh's valuable treatise *De Sacris Vernaculis*', the book Locke had sheepishly apologised for. It 'gives clear evidence', Limborch wrote, to the Archbishop's 'indefatigable devotion to the study of antiquity and of his multifarious reading of authors who do not attract everybody and whose bent is not such as can be appreciated by all'.[138] Limborch expressed admiration for those scholars who, like Ussher, are 'moved by the love of searching out truth to endure the tedium which deters others from the reading of such authors'

On 18 February, Tyrrell wrote to Locke again, more warmly than before. He relished the ripples caused by Locke's *Essay*, delighted that the divines were 'much scandalized that so sweet and easy a part of their sermons: as that of the Law written in the heart is rendred false and useless,' adding 'but you know the narrownesse of most of their principles'.[139] Coming to Slade, he wrote 'as for your Quere who were particularly kind to the Doctor whilst liveing etc':

> all I can say to it is; that upon discourse with Dr: B. I find many Doctors and others very civil to him by inviteing him to dinner etc: but none remarkably kind, except Dr: Musgrave: and the man, (one Mr: Parker and his wife) where he lodged. She allso took care to bespeake the coffin and provide the shrowd; and divers other things necessary for his funerall. there is one Dr: Baccio an Italian who dissected his braine: and lyes in the house with me.[140]

And that is it. Anthony Wood, wrote Tyrrell, was grateful to Locke for conveying his queries to the continent, and was very eager to see the pedigree of Slade's family.

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[136] L.1242 'Semipolitical writers or petty theologians with their disputations engross nearly all the work of the printers. As for this book I am sending you, it was the name and learning of the author that commended it to me; I have not read it yet; I scarcely have time to read anything nowadays'.

[137] L.1243, Furly to Locke, February 1690 (English). Furly's final library had 4,400 books in it. John Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke* (Oxford, 1971), 4.

[138] L.1262.

[139] L.1248, Tyrrell to Locke, 18 February 1690 (English).

[140] This was perhaps William Musgrave (1655-1721), physician and antiquary. I cannot identify the others.

Limborch wrote that he had seen Slade's relatives, who were 'so ignorant about their great-grandfather that they know only what everybody knows about him, that is, that he wrote against Vorstius;' he continued 'they do not even know where he is buried'. Limborch related a few simple facts about Slade senior, describing him as a 'perfervid Puritan', explaining 'No epitaph of him exists here.' Limborch opined that Slade senior's book against Vorstius did not display much learning, only 'an inordinate fervour'.[141] The elder Slade's animosity to the Remonstrants and the ease with which he had called Vorstius a heretic would have seemed deeply unattractive to Limborch, who continued: 'Our late friend was far from imitating his grandfather's fiery zeal; his judgement of those who differed from him was more restrained.' Wood's description of the elder Slade as 'a stiff enemy to the Socinians' would have offered its readers an opportunity to reflect back on the Dutch Arminian controversy in light of the English Toleration Act passed in 1689, and Limborch here seems aware of the way that Wood's genealogical method would draw those events into palimpsest in the coupled lives of the Slades.

Limborch permitted a copy of Slade's pedigree to be sent to Wood.[142] Turning the letter away from Slade, Limborch wrote that he had 'seen a copy of Vossius's letters here;' 'they were recently published in England and there is much that is excellent in them'.[143] But Limborch, who had himself edited a collection of letters concerned with theological debate including letters by Vorstius and Grotius, voiced his reservations about the publication of private correspondence:[144]

> What I cannot approve of, however, is the absurd industry of editors whose way it is to collect with the greatest care everything that learned men have written and give it to the world. Thus a great deal is published that little deserves to be. In this case one comes upon innumerable letters about private and domestic affairs, some even that it would have been better to suppress.

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[141] L.1262.

[142] Wood *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol.1, 337 footnotes the 'Pedigree of the *Slades* (of 17. or more generations) sent to me from *Amsterdam* by some of the *Slades* living there in *Ap.* 1690.' C.f. MS Wood f.43, fol.32.

[143] The publication of Vossius' letters was a notable event amongst Dutch scholars, and is mentioned by Ménage in a letter to Graevius, Maber, *Publishing in the Republic of Letters*, 97.

[144] Limborch edited *Praestantium ac Eruditorum virorum Epistolae Eccleciasticae et Theologiae Varii Argumenti* which ran three editions in 1660, 1684, and 1704.

Locke forwarded Tyrrell an edited version of Limborch's information on the Slades, which was then passed on to Wood ('not a person to be spoke with at his chamber being allways allmost lockt up').[145]

In April 1690 Wood, who was trying to get on with his book, expressed his annoyance about the quality of the information Locke had forwarded to him. 'Tis pitie that such a learned man as Mathew Slade should be lost', wrote Wood to Tyrrell, concerned here with the older Slade.[146] Wood guessed that he died in 1628, 'when then his son Cornelius succeeded him in the rectory of the Gymnasium at Amsterdam', but would like to confirm it. He demanded:

> Why cannot his relations search the Register of that parish, wherein the said Gymnasium stood, which is now as they say turn'd into tenements? – without doubt they have registers there, as in other christian countries, and it may easily be knowne –

A surly Wood reminded Tyrrell of his editorial conventions, hoping that Tyrrell would chastise Locke for his poor genealogical efforts: 'I set all writers down accordinge to the time of their death, and unless I can meet with his [Slade senior's], I cannot tell well where to place him.' If Locke 'has seen my printed book', Wood continued, 'he may know the method that I follow, and therefore he need not plead ignorance what to say of himself –'.

Wood's method is worth some reflection. It was a coincidence that Wood was putting together *Athenae Oxonienes* at the time the younger Slade died, yet his inquiry about the younger Slade 'who recently died near Oxford' shows that he kept up to date with news of deaths generally. Wood became annoyed at Locke when he could not acquire the date of the elder Slade's death, and wanted Locke to stimulate Slade's relatives to go into the Dutch parish archives and look up the records of Slade senior's decease. The fact that Wood, an Englishman, felt that he should be able to access material from the Dutch archives about people's deaths, and had a fair clue of where and how to find this information, provides some context to Limborch and Hudde's tight control of the information that entered the archive regarding the younger Slade's death. Though Wood's intentions were not malicious, his archival intentions make it easier to

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145 L.1273, Locke to Tyrrell, 25 March 1690; L.1277, Tyrrell to Locke, 6 April 1690 (all English).
146 L.1281, Wood to Tyrrell, 11 April 1690 (English).

understand why Limborch sought to protect his scholarly friend against enemies, who, before his sanitisation campaign, may have been able to access records of insanity and mystery discharges.

Locke had asked Limborch to ask Hudde whether Slade senior had a Dutch epitaph, but Limborch says that he 'did not venture' to.[147] He explained: 'it [writing an epitaph] is a rather uncommon thing in this country, and our people don't usually trouble about it'. Limborch wrote that all his friends had advised him against consulting the burgomaster on 'a matter which is of very little consequence among our people'. Limborch deferred to tradition, writing: 'By our received custom, then, he will have no epitaph, unless his friends and relations show any inclination for it of their own accord'.

x. Apoplexy

The clinical presentation of apoplexy in the seventeenth century was very similar to what we might now call a stroke (literally *plexia*, *plexy*), and that description of Slade's autopsy told how 'the vessels in the braine being more than ordinarily distended with blood; and the glandules in the small plexus Choroides being sweld to the bignesse: of a small fetche'.[148] Locke had thought about apoplexy as younger man, and he had read Johann Wepfer's *De Loco Affecto Apoplexia*, which had preceded Willis's observation that apoplexy stemmed from excess blood in the brain.[149] He had also taken numerous notes on lectures that Willis had given at Oxford University, in which Willis regularly mentioned apoplexy, both in passing and in reference to particular patients.[150] As he aged, he had continued to take an interest in the disease, reading several other authors on the topic.[151] Although Wepfer and Willis, and others had moved towards a neurological understanding of apoplexy, it was still a rather general term, and it is hard to guess what

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147 L.1283, Limborch to Locke, 15 April 1690 (Latin).
148 L.1227.
149 See J. Trevor Hughes, *Thomas Willis 1621-1675* (London and New York, 1991), 67. Locke had also read Christopher Gravelius's *Disputatio de Apoplexia* (Wittenberg, 1676).
150 Thomas Willis, *Oxford Lectures*. In June 1689 David Thomas had written to Locke asking him: 'If you can Enquire any author beside Scultetus and Wiseman who writes well of wounds of the head in order to make out somewhat of apoplexys pray enforme me of it.' L.1153. Apoplexy must have been fairly common amongst persons of esteem at Oxford, as the physician William Cole published a book in 1689 entitled *A Physico-Medical Essay Concerning the Late Frequency of Apoplexies* (Oxford, 1689).
151 Locke MS d.9, pp.60-61, pp.278-279.

the autopsy result specifically indicated to Locke and Limborch, and what Limborch thought it would indicate to people scrutinising Slade's legacy.[152]

Locke had made a series of notes on apoplexy, which he had attribited to Sydenham.[153] He wrote that there were two kinds of apoplexy, 'sanuin' and 'phlegmatik', which tended to strike 'Between winter solstice & vernall aequinox for y^{e} most part, but often also at other times'. Sanguine apoplexy was characterised by a blood leakage in the brain ('extravassation'), and phlegmatic apoplexy was caused by 'a thick phlegmatique humer in the bloud' that slowed and blocked the flow of blood and animal spirits.[154] Locke wrote that sanguine apoplexy was 'for the most part mortall' and caused sufferers to 'Fall down & are taken with deepe sleepe with snoreing are deprived of all sens & motion respiration excepted'. Phlegmatic apoplexy first presented itself by 'a presention of fulnesse & heavynesse in the head, more than ordinary disposition to sleepe, decay of memory'.[155] Locke noted that both diseases chiefly affected 'Men of 50 years old & upwards, of ful & gros habits, ruddy complexion large bellys who drinke wine, keepe a full diet, live sedentary lives'.[156] If we assume that the numbers '82' Locke wrote in the margin of this entry denote the date 1682, then Locke made these notes the year he himself turned fifty. Luckily, he was thin, active and abstinent.

Willis described apoplexy affecting the 'callous body' that formed the 'more inward cloister of the Brain'. The disease was triggered when the 'irradiation of the Spirits' from

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152 'Willis struggled (as neurologists and neurosurgeons still struggle today, despite our vast array of diagnostic aids) to define the causes of apoplexy', Willis, *The Anatomy of the Brain and Nerves*, ed. Feindel (Montreal, 1965), 2 vols, vol.1, 6.

153 Locke MS d.9, p.61, p.278. Because of the nature of Locke's commonplacing system the notes span across two non-consecutive pages. Locke marked the notes 'Apoplexia 82' and 'AE', which is short for 'Aesclepius', Locke's nickname for Sydenham, Walmsley, 'Sydenham and the Development of John Locke's Natural Philosophy', 10n. I am incredibly grateful to Louis Caron for drawing my attention to this material and offering to share his notes, though these transcriptions are my own.

154 'The cause is different in this disease [i.e. phlegmatic apoplexy] for that it proceeds from a thick phlegmatique humer in the bloud w^{ch} either obstructing the capillary arterys in the brain and soe hindering most of the bloud for supply of animate spirits, or els being protruded out of the arterys into the cortex of the brain doth <...> hinder both generation & motion of the animall spirits upon either of w^{ch} accident all those symptoms will be producd w^{ch} are observable in this kind of apoplex to w^{ch} may be added those ramifications of viscous coagulated matter in the arterys w^{ch} taking root at the heart & growing like branches of corall in those vessells doth by degrees fill up the passage of the bloud & at last hinder its due & necessary afflux to the brain', Locke MS d.9, p.61, p.278.

155 Locke MS d.9, p.61, p.278.

156 Locke MS d.9, p.61, p.278.

the inner cloister became 'obscured in some places', 'broken with interspersed shades' or 'wholly darkened'.[157] When the animal spirits were eclipsed, they could not filter from the callous body to the other parts of the *corps* that were under their 'government', causing what Willis described as 'an immediate and universal darkness'.[158] The Animal Spirits were described as like a sun shining on the civilisation of the body, and when, 'Upon the coming of the Apoplectick fit', there was a widespread blackout, 'all the acts of every spontaneous and knowing function (to wit, which depend on the brain it self) are forthwith hindred and cease'.[159] In the 'Table of all the hard words derived from the *Greek* and *Latin* [etc.]' appended to Willis's writing on the brain, apoplexy was defined as 'A disease that stupifies and takes away sense and motion'.[160]

Willis began his chapter on apoplexy with an etymological description of the illness, and this can help us imagine the visual scene of how Slade was thought to have perished:

> The word *Apoplexy* denotes percussion, and by reason of the stupendous nature of the Disease, containing as it were something divine, it is called a *Sideration* or Blasting; for those taken with it, being as it were Planet struck, or with invisible *Numen*, fall suddenly to the ground, and being deprived of sense and motion, and the whole animal function ceasing (unless that they breath) they lye a long time as if dead, and sometimes yield to death; But if they revive, oftentimes they are taken with a universal Palsie, or else of one side.[161]

Considering the word 'apoplexy' etymologically meant drawing older literary meanings into the disease description.[162] 'Sideration' is Latin for 'blasting' and medically implies a sudden paralysis, though all these words have echoes of smiting. Planet-struck, similarly, means 'stricken or afflicted, as by paralysis or other sudden physical disorder', but attributes the cause of the striking to the 'supposed malign influence of a planet', and can

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157 Willis, *Two Discourses Concerning the Soul of Brutes*, 153.

158 Willis's work on apoplexy and the brain in general showed how imagination and sense were affected by physical, natural phenomena, and he had also ascribed the cause of incubi, or nightmares, to a restriction of the animal spirits. See *Brutes*, 142-144, for Willis's chapter on incubi.

159 Willis, *Brutes*, 153.

160 In *Brutes* Willis had a whole section on apoplexy from which I have been quoting. Thomas Willis, 'Five Treatises' (1681) in *Dr. Willis's Practice of Physick* trans. Samuel Pordage (London, 1684), 'The table', Av.

161 Willis, *Brutes*, 153.

162 More illuminating history on apoplexies can be gleaned from Catherine E. Storey, 'Apoplexy: Changing Concepts in the Eighteenth Century' in Stanley Finger, Harry Whitaker and C. U. M. Smith, ed., *Brain, Mind and Medicine: Essays in Eighteenth Century Neuroscience*, (New York, 2007), 233-243.

also convey amazement or bewilderment. The invisible 'numen' is, etymologically, 'divinity, god' or 'a local or presiding power or spirit'. On the one hand, Willis's work on the brain was cutting-edge material science, but on the other hand, his vocabulary and description of the presentation of the affliction was couched in old religious terminology, which linguistically implied some higher participation in the event.

After Slade had been buried, James Tyrrell did write that he was 'sorry the Thorax was not opend, as well as the Head, for I fancy the cause of his death might lye about the heart after all' – but it was too late, and this conjecture was never picked up by Locke and Limborch the way it could have been, had they really wanted to hone and perfect their post-mortem records.[163] Apoplexy then, and the idea of Slade 'being taken suddenly with an Apoplectical fit on *Shotover* hill' seems to have suited the occasion, with its inference of an un-knitting or quick cancelling of the understanding and whole perceptive mechanism; literal stupidity. In the *Essay* Locke had evoked apoplexy as a stripping away of personal identity: 'But there is nothing I have, is essential to me, An Accident, or Disease, may very much alter my Colour, or Shape, a Fever, or fall, may take away my Reason or Memory, or both; and an Apoplexy leave neither Sense, nor Understanding, no nor Life.'[164]

At the time of Slade's death, Johann-Georg Graevius had written to Locke, commenting that he eagerly awaited the Latin translation of the *Essay*. From Graevius's perspective Slade's death 'in his ancestral country' was another in a long line of bereavements:

> I am sorry to have lost a scholarly friend. But the past year has been one of deaths and has robbed me of several. At Leyden there have been Lemonius and Ryckius, in France Emeric Bigot, and in Germany Marquard Gude, who formerly as a very young man published at Paris the genuine work of Hippolytus *de Antichristo*. He had excellent talents and judgement and owned a library well equipped with printed as well as manuscript books. In it I saw many of the oldest Greek Fathers, and those unedited, as well as some Platonic philosophers and the

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163 L.1239.

164 Locke, *Essay*, III.vi.4. Note the distinctions Locke makes between the identity-damaging qualities of different diseases. Some diseases alter one's physical appearance; fevers and falls might result in loss of memory and reason; but apoplexy threatens sense, life, and 'understanding'. As Locke had written at the start of the *Essay*: 'it is the *Understanding* that sets Man above the rest of sensible Beings'. The understanding was 'the discerning Faculty of a Man', *Essay*, I.i.1-2.

> ponderous Lexicon of Photius. He died in Holstein, his native country; he was a councillor to the king of Denmark.[165]

Graevius remembers Marquard Gude, a classical scholar and collector of inscriptions, in terms of his library, and the books he saw in it, including works by the Greek Church Fathers, and a lexicon written by a patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century. Slade is still considered as a 'scholarly friend', but perhaps not as scholarly as Gude, who – Graevius emphasises – possessed both a well-stocked library and good judgement. Ryckius, who had written on ancient Rome, was Gerard Vossius's successor as chair of eloquence at Leiden, and Emery Bigot was a French scholar famous for his edition of Palladius's *Life of Chrysotom* which he had retrieved from a tenth century codex in Florence.[166] Bigot particularly was well-embedded in Graevius's scholarly circle, and his death would have deprived the surviving scholar of both a scholarly friend and a link to other thinkers.[167] Understanding Graevius's proclivities, Locke had sent him the 'ancient writings' of 'Trallianus and Reza' in 1687 to add to his 'well-stored library'.[168] The gift provoked Graevius to respond 'They will continually refresh my memory of you, though that is so deeply fixed in my heart that no lapse of time can ever obliterate it'.[169]

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[165] Emery Bigot had died on 18 December 1689, also of an apoplexy. Maber, *Publishing in the Republic of Letters*, 117; Leonard Doucette, *Emery Bigot, Seventeenth Century French Humanist* (London and Toronto, 1970), 47-48: 'Bigot's dearest treasure, and perhaps his most important creation, that rich library of which he had always been so proud, was not even to enjoy the fate he had decreed for it. In 1682 he had provided in his testament that the money accruing from the sale of his movables and certain dividends on his property should be set aside for the preservation and amplification of the library. The responsibility for its upkeep was entrusted to Robert Bigot, seigneur de Monville, Conseiller au Parlement de Paris, who was to die in 1692. The library was then sold at public auction in Paris in 1706. The catalogue, which is still valued by bibliophiles and scholars, valued 40,000 livres at the time.'

[166] Peter G. Bietenholz, *Historia and Fabula: Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age* (Leiden, 1994), 299-300.

[167] Evidence of Bigot's involvement in Graevius's circle can be taken from Maber, *Publishing in the Republic of Letters*, which prints a sequence of letters in which Bigot features quite heavily, acting as an 'intermediary' for the letters Graevius exchanges with Gilles Ménage.

[168] L.978, Locke to Graevius, 17 November 1687 (Latin).

[169] L.974, Graevius to Locke, 4 November 1687 (Latin). Attention to the health of the old scholars was ever-present: When Dr. Bernard had written to finalise the business of Slade's funeral and remaining belongings (which included some Greek verses), he signed off 'I cannot but lament that I lost so good and ingenious a friend in that sodaine surprize. Our friends at Christchurch are pretty well, especially the aged Doctor.' The aged doctor was Edward Pococke, the Oxford orientalist, connected into this same circle of scholars, eighty-six that year and dead the next, L.1241, Bernard to Locke, 28 January 1690 (English).

Le Clerc, editor of the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*, had also written to say that he had heard 'the account of the death of poor Mr Slade'.[170] He linked the Doctor's downfall to 'the sale of his library': 'for when a man who has taken pleasure from reading all his life, is entirely sick of that pleasure, then he has reached the peak of misfortune'.[171]After remarking that Slade's turn from the pleasure of books marked the start of his downfall, Le Clerc had written a few lines of Latin, *jam Proserpine caput ejus poscit; et eum mordet ab infernis Cerebrus usque vadis*; 'Proserpina is already demanding his head, and Cerberus is continually biting him from the infernal streams'.[172] Having evoked this image of Slade being beckoned down into the underworld, Le Clerc filled the rest of his letter with books: his own books, catalogues of books, journals, and a mention of the *Bibliothèque*, perhaps reassured by his own buoyancy in the republic of letters.

As Locke was involved in fashioning Slade's death reports, so were Locke's friends in turn involved in fashioning his own legacy after he died in 1704.[173] Pierre Coste wrote a description of Locke to add to his posthumous works, writing that, in the last part of Locke's life, 'his Mind never suffered the least decay, tho' his Body grew every day visibly weaker and weaker.'[174] The day before he died:

> he gave some orders with great serenity of mind; and an occasion offering of speaking of the Goodness of God; he especially exalted the Love which God shewed to Man, in justifying him by Faith in JESUS CHRIST. He returned him thanks in particular, for having called him to the knowledge of that divine Saviour. He exhorted all about him to read the Holy Scripture attentively, and to apply themselves sincerely to the practice of all their duties [...] The next day he caused himself to be carried into his closet, for he had not strength to walk by himself; and there in his chair, and in a kind of dozing, tho' in his full senses, as appeared by what he said from time to time, he gave up the ghost about three in the afternoon the 28th of October [1704].[175]

Who really can tell what happened to Locke? This death appears in the 'Character' of the author that is prefixed to some of his works published in 1720, not for medical accuracy but to help the reader to imagine how Locke behaved in his last moments, and from there to infer something about his character. Reading this account, biographer Maurice

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[170] L.1234, Le Clerc to Locke, 11 January 1690 (French).
[171] L.1234.
[172] L.1234.
[173] The Birch collection of papers on Locke run from Additional MS 4222, fols.224-262, containing Locke's pedigree and other descriptions from his friends.
[174] Locke, *A Collection*, xx.
[175] Locke, *A Collection*, xxii.

Cranston thought that at Locke's moment of death he must have looked 'much as he appears in the portrait Kneller had painted only a few weeks before', and it is worth considering Cranston's thought process, as the original Kneller (not the more ubiquitous oval derivation), which hangs in Locke's old college Christ Church, features Locke in front of shelves and shelves of large folios.[176] Following the tone of this 'Character' Cranston deferred to an image of Locke looking old but stately and sane, like the kind of man whose religious understanding and ability to communicate would remain intact to the last.

[176] Cranston, *John Locke*, 480. See the image by Sir Godfrey Kneller in Christ Church dining hall or in Anthony Kenny, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Western Philosophy* (Oxford, 2001), 131.

The Fletchers of Saltoun: Reading and writing the body *ad fontes* in East Lothian

In one of his notebooks, Locke recorded a maxim from Vesalius that captured the spirit of *ad fontes* inquiry: 'Those who have first tread on any matter usually excell those y^t^ follow water being purest neare the fountain'.[1] This idea of getting back to the original was present in both Locke's medical inquiries and his Scriptural inquiries, in which he advocated working from the primary body or text as closely as possible.[2] Because we have seen Locke shunning anatomy in his 'Anatomia' essay, it may seem odd to find him copying quotes from Vesalius's great work on that topic, yet it was undoubtedly the spirit of Vesalius's inquiry that Locke admired.[3] Years before Locke was born, Vesalius had championed a method of direct, practical observation. *Ad fontes*, for Locke, may not have meant dissecting things, but in medicine it did mean taking one's lead primarily from the patient. This chapter tells the story of Locke trying to get *ad fontes* towards a person he was advising medically through the medium of letters. The chain of communication runs from Locke to a friend of his called Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, to Andrew's brother Henry, and to Henry's wife, Margaret – the person requiring the advice. It is a chain of communication that involves a lot of negotiation: negotiation over reading and writing styles, and methodologies of treatment. By looking at the peripheral material in which Locke's medical advice was embedded, considering both books and events mentioned in the letters Locke exchanged with the Fletchers, and contextual information from the broader scene, we can see how seemingly straightforward medical advice can get imbued with the language of broader methodological debates.

The most commonly cited evidence for Locke's views on medicine from the mid-1690s is an exchange that he had with Thomas Molyneux, the physician brother of William Molyneux who famously sent Locke a philosophical conundrum.[4] Despite the fact that Locke's discussion with Thomas Molyneux is well known, it is worth mentioning again here, as it further illuminates the background to Locke's advice to the Fletchers, chiefly

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[1] Locke MS d.10, fol.15.
[2] Locke, *Writings on Religion*, Introduction.
[3] Vesalius, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* – there is no copy listed in Locke's final library catalogue, Harrison and Laslett, *The Library of John Locke*.
[4] In the 1690s Molyneux was active in both the Irish and English scientific communities. K. Theodore Hoppen, 'The Royal Society and Ireland. II', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 20:1 (1965), 78-99.

by showing what mood Locke was in intellectually in this period. Having met in Leiden, Locke and Molyneux began exchanging letters when Locke returned to England after the instalment of William and Mary, with Thomas writing to cement the acquaintance they had made and to praise Thomas Sydenham, who had died in 1689 and whom Molyneux had previously met in London.[5] Locke, in bad health, replied in late 1692 to add praise to Sydenham's legacy and his skill of 'accurate practical observation'.[6] In his reply, Molyneux lauded Sydenham's practice, and wrote about a general problem with medicine itself, which he considered to be getting yet more 'imperfect'.[7]

As fodder for a discussion of these imperfections, Molyneux introduced the work of Richard Morton, a doctor who had recently written books on *phthisi* (consumption), and on fevers, a topic that was one of Sydenham's specialisms.[8] Molyneux wrote that Morton's 'general Theory' of fevers was 'a sorte of meer Waking Dreame', which was an insult deliberately framed to operate in counterpoint to the 'accurate practical observation' that Locke famed Sydenham for in his letter. It is the kind of dream, Molyneux wrote, that 'Men are strangely aptt to fall into, when they think of a long subject, being quite at the wrong End; for by framing such Conceipts in their Phansys, they vainly think to give their Understandings light, whilst the Things themselves are still, and perhaps ever must remaine in Darkness.' Molyneux went on, after this initial critique, to write that some of Morton's 'pracktical Remarks [...] if they be judiciously founded on uppon many steddy Observations, so that they may safely pass into a rule; must certainly be of great moment in directing the Management and cure of Fevers.'[9] Locke had responded to this letter by condemning books built on general theories and 'the romance way of physic'. Tethered only to the false edifices of dreams, some theories of disease that had come in to fashion had been no more than 'learned empty sounds, with no precise determinate signification.' Locke lamented: 'I see it is easier and more natural for men to build castles in the air of their own, than to survey well those that are to be found standing.'

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[5] L.1531, Thomas Molyneux to Locke, 27 August 1692 (English).
[6] L.1556, Locke to Thomas Molyneux, 1 November 1692 (English).
[7] L.1578, Thomas Molyneux to Locke, 20 December 1692 (English).
[8] Gucnellon had requested Morton's first book from Locke, L.1251.
[9] Molyneux wrote that though Morton 'was once a Presbyterian Preacher' this does 'not make him a jot the less capable' of observing diseases, L.1578.

Molyneux and Locke were discussing ways of doing physic, and both men were touting Sydenham as a good example of how to do physic well. Much work has been done on Locke and Sydenham's relationship while Locke was writing the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, but Sydenham also influenced Locke after the *Essay* had been published, and much of the material discussed in this chapter is best understood in terms of Locke's continued interest in Sydenham's teachings. The image of Sydenham that Locke had, in the mid-1690s, was of a physician constantly at the bedside, vividly involved in the puzzles of his patients' bodies, with a flexible, responsive attitude to therapy. 'Steddy observations' were the key to understanding bodies and their ailments. Theoretical attitudes to medicine would often leave 'Things themselves [...] in Darkness'. Molyneux conjured a magnificent image of a physician preoccupied with books or daydreams while the patients and diseases he investigated languished behind him unseen. When we read Locke's images of 'castles in the air' and 'castles found standing' it can seem like he draws a distinction between two types of structure – one real and one imaginary. He does, but more importantly, he draws a distinction between two methodologies: building and surveying, the first of which indicates construction and creation, the second of which indicates 'The action of viewing or examining in detail' or 'The process or art of making surveys of land'.

Andrew and Henry's lives, and their various relationships to Saltoun and their country of Scotland, serve as a useful way in to explaining their different perspectives on Margaret's illness, of which Henry's was quotidian and micro-scopic and Andrew's more distant and *katascopic*. Both Andrew and Henry had dealings with the health of Scotland, Andrew diagnosing its large-scale social ills, and Henry monitoring the localised health of the land and people at Saltoun. Because Margaret's sickbed was at Saltoun, and the brothers formed the communicative chain between her and Locke, their relative involvement in the estate and its locale mirrors their relative involvement in the description of Margaret's body. In the terms of Locke and Molyneux's debate, Henry was in a much better situation to survey the *castles found standing* that were literally the Saltoun estate and figuratively Margaret's pains and sensations. It is this context that I will initially illustrate before turning to the case itself.

i. Surveying Scotland

Though Andrew Fletcher was Scottish and had an involvement in Scottish politics and trade, he had been, as John Robertson points out, mainly out of the country, travelling between London, the Netherlands and Paris.[10] It was probably during those travels that he met Locke. Robertson writes that Andrew was 'bored by his own country', and that he preferred the world 'beyond Scotland: the world of lodgings and coffee and chocolate houses in Europe's great cities'.[11] Fletcher's library catalogue is testament to his extensive reading and love of books, and his neo-Machiavellian writings show his learning of the ancients.[12] He consulted Wren and Hawksmoor about architecture, and sought correspondence and conversation with all manner of contemporary intellects. One critic writes that Fletcher's library catalogue shows 'a historical approach', 'receptiveness to ideas from abroad', 'unbounded curiosity and the refusal to divide enquiry into water-tight compartments.'[13] Yet the library and its contents would lead Andrew into making comments that Locke found provocative and useless in relation to Margaret's illness.

Andrew was from a long Scottish line. Allegedly descended from Robert the Bruce, he had become laird of Saltoun when his father died in 1665.[14] The young Gilbert Burnet, who was minister at Saltoun in 1665, delivered Andrew's father's fiery funeral sermon,

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[10] Andrew Fletcher, *Political Works*, ed. John Robertson (Cambridge, 1997), 'Introduction'.
[11] Robertson in Fletcher, *Political Works*, xiii-xiv.
[12] P. J. M. Willems, *Bibliotheca Fletcheriana: Or, the Extraordinary Library of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun* (Wassenaar, 1999). Robertson in Fletcher, *Political Works*, xiv: 'His manuscript catalogue of his books lists, though imperfectly, the collection which he acquired – and which his descendants sold and dispersed, without a modern catalogue, in the 1960s. Far more than a library, this was clearly a collector's collection, which included many rare works and required, over the years, a substantial outlay.' For an example of Andrew's politics and style see *A Discourse of Government with Relation to Militia's* (sic, Edinburgh, 1698). The pamphlet responded to the controversy in the English parliament over the size of William's army, an issue which was currently in debate, but which had preoccupied Andrew and other Scottish landowners (in the context of the Scottish army) for much of his adult life, years before William's accession. The argument, which showcased the broad reading that Andrew had conducted in his vast library, started in about 400 BC with the dissolution of the Roman Empire, an event which 'put the sword into the hand of the subject' – an action Fletcher approved of.
[13] Paul H. Scott, *Andrew Fletcher and the Treaty of Union* (Edinburgh, 1992), 21.
[14] Fletcher's mother, Katherine Bruce claimed descent from the grandfather of Robert the Bruce, and was well connected to other powerful Scottish families, Scott, *Andrew Fletcher and the Treaty of Union*, 13.

using images of ancient Egyptian religious corruption to emphasise Fletcher's piety.[15] In the sermon Burnet asked

> How many impoverished Souls are lodged in Bodies, whose cabinets are well stored with Riches? Many a *Plump body* is the Receptacle of an *Hunger-starved Mind.* Me thinks they resemble *Egypts Temples*, whose Outside had a *tearing show:* but when admitted to the interiour recesses of that Idol-house, with the light of an half extinguish'd Torch, they could discern an *Ape.*[16]

This image may have come from Clement of Alexandria's *Paedagogus*, which mocked Egyptian animal worship, and Burnet here made a vivid comment about the corruption of religion and the corruption of the soul through bodily luxury.[17]

The family estate near Halliburton in East Lothian was a considerable property, in addition to which Andrew officially supervised the nearby estate of Aberlady, which was in the hands of a family minor.[18] Andrew was the oldest, and so Saltoun and the Aberlady estate were in his name, just as his name and title, in turn, evoked the land that he owned. Yet in practical reality, it was Henry and Margaret who lived on and managed the family estate and the neighbouring Aberlady estate up in Scotland while Andrew socialised, wrote, and travelled.

Fletcher, whose writing career flourished in the 1690s, proposed solutions for Scotland based on history and Roman examples of statecraft. In one of his essays on the affairs of Scotland (1698) Fletcher had written about 100,000-200,000 vagabonds 'who have lived without any regard or subjection either to the Laws of the Land, or even those of God and Nature'.[19] His plan was to force these vagabonds into a kind of feudal servitude, linking them to a master and educating them 'in the knowledg [sic] of some mechanical

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[15] Gilbert Burnet, *A Discourse on the Memory of that Rare and Truely Virtuous Person Sir Robert Fletcher of Saltoun* (Edinburgh, 1665).
[16] Burnet, *A Discourse*, 37-38.
[17] Clement of Alexandria, *Christ the Educator*, trans. Simon P. Wood (Washington, 1953), Book 3, chapter 2, 202-203.
[18] For disputes relating to Aberlady see Anon, *Information for Andrew Fletcher of Aberlady and his Tutor against Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarrony, and Sir Patrick Murray of Saltcoats and others* (Edinburgh?, 1693). Saltoun MS 17458, fol.219 for some reason describes Henry Fletcher as Aberlady's tutor, though it was Thomas Boston. See George D. Low, 'Thomas Boston', *The Expository Times*, 11:5 (1900), 200-204.
[19] Andrew Fletcher, *Two Discourses Concerning the Affairs of Scotland, Written in the Year 1698*, (Edinburgh, 1698), Second Discourse, 24-25

Art'.[20] The vagabonds were 'so desperately wicked', Fletcher thought, and 'such enemies of all Work and Labour' that their mechanical training would need to be executed with a strong arm, or they would loot the towns and hide in the 'vast and unsearchable retreat' of the Highlands.[21] Fletcher picked up on contemporary debates about Highlanders, who were described as 'barbarous' and 'wretched', renowned for 'depredations' and 'sornings', and mixed them with ideas about Roman slavery.[22] Idleness and a lack of productivity riled Fletcher, and he wrote of aristocratic soldiers who 'consume twice as much as they pay for, and live idle'. These soldiers, the 'younger Sons of the Nobility and Gentry', 'have in all times had their inclinations debauched to an idle, for the most part criminal, and almost always unprofitable sort of Life'. His answer was that 'Their Talents might have bin much better employed in Trade and Husbandry'.[23]

Where Fletcher saw a bigger picture of Scotland, riddled with economic and social ills, Henry saw smaller, day-to-day details of the Saltoun estate where he lived. A family history in the Fletcher archive contains an enthusiastic panegyric of the Castle of Saltoun, mythologizing it in the language of battle. The castle was described as:

> perched like an eagle on the summit of a rock, the foot of which is washed by a beautiful stream of water descending from the Lammer Hills, and winding through a haugh, whose banks are clothed with trees of the most stately growth, the children of a former century, that rise to guard and adorn the ancient battlements.[24]

Whoever wrote this had a fantastic imagination, seeing the old estate as a great defensive bird of prey, backed by an ancestral army of trees, yet this encomiastic description does not reflect Henry's experience of Saltoun in the 1690s at all. The estate took hard work and a close eye for the land, as the below example from a 1702 letter from Henry to Andrew shows. The *haugh* – a Scottish and northern dialect word meaning a corner of land in the nook of a river-bend – romanticised in the above account, is described below by Henry in a more practical and precise fashion. Henry's letter to Andrew was about the

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[20] Fletcher, Second Discourse, 28.
[21] Fletcher, Second Discourse, 29.
[22] See Privy Council, *Letters of Publication of a Commission anent the Security of the Peace of the High-Lands* (Edinburgh, 1682), 1. Sorning – from the Irish *sorthan* – was the practice of living for free, often associated with the gypsies, or *Gyptians*. 'It is likely that Fletcher himself intended the proposals to make an analytical rather than a practical point', Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2005), 169.
[23] Fletcher, Second Discourse, 28.
[24] Saltoun MS 17858, fol.3.

management of the land, water distribution and the partition of territories, and he explained that the fence-wright was sick, so the fences had not been erected.

> Ther is nothing done yet as to the putting down y^e^ paling on maigne side, becaus y^e^ wright has got cold and is not able to stir out, but I hope he will be well enough nixt week. if you intend to obtain any more of y^e^ water from steensten I do not think it will be the best way to straiten him befor hand; or if you would have your own Tennents quit y^r^ interest in y^e^ com*m*on-haughs for some consideration, it were better to do it befor you put down y^e^ paling, becaus that fence will make it more beneficial to them, and they will value it higher. if you continue in your resolution, y^e^ wright shall go to y^e^ wood as soon as he is well & prepare the posts. I beleev it will be best to send in your Horses the night befor y^e^ race, let me know when you will have them.
>
> Friday 27[25]

The last line shows that Andrew Fletcher kept racehorses, and that Henry looked after them, and it gives a sense of the dynamic between the two men as Henry kept track of day-to-day duties, whilst Andrew took part in gentler pursuits.

As Andrew needed closely observed descriptions of the condition of his estate, like the one above, to manage it from afar, so Locke would need closely observed descriptions of Margaret Fletcher to instruct her from afar. While Andrew considered hundreds of thousands of vagabond *sorners* breaching the vast tract of the Highlands, Henry thought about the local land, its rents, its fence posts, and its water supply. Whereas Andrew used books to compose his essays on Scotland, books would have been of little use to him in the practical management of his estate from afar, for which he required Henry's acute and sensible descriptions. This was similar to what Locke would need to advise on the state of Margaret's health from afar: Not book wisdom but the same acute and sensible descriptions – the detailed surveys.

While Andrew Fletcher met natural philosophers in London and the continent, Henry Fletcher undertook the less glamorous task of organising physic for the young minor on the nearby Aberlady estate. From the size of the apothecary's receipts Henry Fletcher paid on young Aberlady's behalf it seems apparent that the boy was a regular user of

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[25] Saltoun MS 16502, fol.187. Presumably 27 February 1702, which fell on a Friday in the Julian calendar of that year. The letter is endorsed 'H. F. 1702'.

physic.[26] Mary Bruce wrote to Henry to let him know when to pay Aberlady's physicians, including incidental details of his medical conditions. One such letter was written by Mary Bruce to Henry Fletcher in October 1692, in which Mary writes 'I thought fit to aquent you that docter troter has been waiting on my son this egeht or ten days'.[27] Trotter had administered 'fisik' and 'ordered a dyet drink' for the boy's teeth. Mary continued: 'I disyer sir, any tim when you ar in Edenbrough that you wold be pleased to call for the docter and pey him for his pains'.[28] A later letter from Mary, sent after young Andrew had suffered from 'a dangerous fever' in March 1694, provides more information on the way physicians were being used. Mary solicited more than one practitioner to operate at the bedside: 'we hav had three phis*itians* heare waiting one him, docter troter from Edr helliburton from hedington and docter hoom from berweeck, they ar to be here again to atend him in the time of a dyet which they have prescrived for him'.[29] That information was followed by a request to dispense funds. '[Y]ou may provid golde to give them there ties, I think you cane give no less then tuenty ginnies amongst the three docters for they have been at a great dill off pains and trublle'.[30] These three doctors were from Edinburgh, Haddington and Berwick-upon-Tweed. These letters show that whilst Andrew was aware of a far-reaching network of thinkers, Henry was aware of a network of local physicians who could be paid to operate at the bedside.

Aware of Andrew's connections, when the Fletcher family at Saltoun got sick they apparently decided not to consult the network of local physicians that young Aberlady used, opting instead for postal communications with the more eminent men that Andrew could procure. Locke was one of the physicians consulted in 1694-5 and after. Among advice gathered in 1694 the Fletcher archives also show one sheet from an unidentifiable 'H. C.', and another from 'Dr. Colladon', who could have been (or been one of the relatives of) John Colladon who was a Hugenot naturalised by Charles II.[31]

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[26] One receipt (Saltoun MS 17458, fols.217-218) covers the period March 1689 to May 1694 and amounts to 113*l.* 15*s.*

[27] Saltoun MS 17458, fol.214.

[28] Saltoun MS 17458, fol.214.

[29] Saltoun MS 17458, fol.309.

[30] Saltoun MS 17458, fol.309.

[31] A physician called Colladon is mentioned in Henry B. Wheatley, *Samuel Pepys, and the world he lived in*, (London, 1880), 241. A sheet of advice from 'H. C.' is located at Saltoun MS 17851, fols.18-21; Colladon's advice is located at Saltoun MS 17851, fol.16. One of the physicians consulted in 1699 was Dr LeFevre/'Dr de Fevres', probably the same man who was one of Locke's correspondents, see L.2909, L.3215. LeFevre was the name of a family from Anjou, full of well-known chemists and physicians. The LeFevres were just one of the Protestant Hugenot

ii. Blood

The catalyst for the exchange involving Margaret Fletcher was the return of an old condition: her ailment centred on her reproductive system. A history in Henry Fletcher's hand, first sent to Locke in 1694, attributed the start of the condition to the death of an infant Margaret had nursed. It opened:

> In Februeury 91 immediatly after the d^e^ath of a Child whom she had nursed, she lost her appetit, grew lean, and found her self much weaker then formerly. It was thought the nursing had done her prejudice. Not long after, she conseived; and during the time she was with Child she found great pains in her joynts, and about mid-summer she had several hard lumps especialy near the joynts, bigger than Beans, which did not break or discolor the skin, but continued about 20 days, and then went away: the lumps returne every year at bout the same time. When she was brought to bed in December 91 she had very litle of the purging which is usual at that time; her head was mightyly affected with vapours, she had frequent sweatings over all her body, and sometimes cold fits.[32]

The account tells how, after these pregnancies, Margaret never truly recovered.[33] In 1693 she had vapours, sweatings, fits, pains, 'lost her appetit, and her digestion was bad, and had a continual hoarseness in her throat.' Her menstrua were obstructed, and she felt very ill at that time of month, and 'got many things from physicians for vapours, but without effect either for the vapours or for the obstructions'. The account relates how in the summer of that year she had visited Bath and taken the waters, which had helped, though she remained obstructed. This long-view narrative ends by describing that she had been advised to let blood the previous week.[34]

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families who lived in exile in England, persecuted in their homeland on religious grounds. Another physician whom the Fletchers consulted in 1699, 'Bussieres', was possibly Paul Bussière, a surgeon and anatomist who was naturalised to England in 1688, Gordon Goodwin, 'Paul Bussière (?-1739)', *ODNB*. LeFevre's advice is at Saltoun MS 17851, fols.28-30; Bussière's is at Saltoun MS 17851, fol.27.

[32] Locke MS c.8, fols.133-134. This seems to have been a master document that the Fletchers sent out to physicians (perhaps Henry supplied Andrew with one document that he copied), as manuscripts showing other physicians' replies to Margaret's case in the archives echo the phrase 'bigger than beans', indicating that it appeared in the case notes sent to them, for example Saltoun MS 17851, fols.16-17 in which Colladon writes about 'several hard Lumps [...] bigger than beans'.

[33] The successful second pregnancy was presumably the couple's son, later Lord Milton, Michael Fry, 'Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton (1691/2-1766)', *ODNB*.

[34] Locke MS c.8, fols.133-134.

> She was advised last week to let blood at the foot 6 days befor the Menstrua after having bathed her feet in warme water a very quiert [?] Chirurgeon opned a vain first in the one foot and then in the other and altho he maid the orifice very large in both yit the blood did not spring and their came not half ane ounce out of both; which he did not impuit to the scarecity of the blood, but to the viscosity & thickness theirof, but it is lick their is part of both.

Having observed the failed letting procedure, Henry offers his own view of the scarcity and viscosity of his wife's blood to add to the physician's. Henry was on site watching the proceedings, so, though not a physician himself, was able to offer a first-hand description of Margaret and her body. Henry's narrative suggests that he believes Margaret's menstrual obstructions and the texture of her blood to be linked, and in the passage about the chirurgeon that ends the narrative the slow, congealed nature of Margaret's let blood seems to provide an explanation for why her blood in general is not healthily moving around her inner system.[35] If this was what Henry thought, his would have been a very immediate visual understanding wherein he, his wife, and the surgeon all saw his wife's blood and, from it, understood something about her condition. This report was taken from first-hand observation, giving Locke a snapshot of the scene up in Scotland, without superimposing too much secondary analysis or speculation on it. This was information direct from the *font* with which Locke could work: a window onto the site of the malaise that completed the communicative chain from Margaret's body in Scotland to Locke's study at Oates.

iii. Books

Locke's advice to this initial query appears not to be extant, but we can infer that it was conveyed to Saltoun and was well received, as Andrew Fletcher wrote to Locke again regarding Margaret's health in February 1695.[36] This next letter revealed Andrew's

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[35] Locke MS c.8, fols.133-134. Helen King, *The Disease of Virgins* (London, 2004), 29. Sometimes obstructions were attributed to thick and sluggish blood. Some people saw menstruation as a natural monthly bleeding, of the kind a chirurgeon would otherwise do, and considered menstruation part of the natural healthy free-flow of fluids around the body. Therefore, when menstruation was obstructed this meant that the free-flow was stopped, and the woman was at risk of putrefaction, and further physical and possibly mental disturbance. See Margaret Healy, 'Dangerous Blood: Menstruation, Medicine and Myth in Early Modern England' in *National Healths* ed. Michael Worton and Nana Wilson-Tagoe (London, 2004), 83-94. Etienne van de Walle, 'Flowers and Fruits: Two Thousand Years of Menstrual Regulation', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 28:2 (1997), 183-203.

[36] Locke MS c.8, fols.131-132; fol.132. The letter is endorsed 'Fletcher 22 Feb. 95 Answered Mar. 1.'

interests and personality, while conveying the simple information that Margaret required further advice.

> Sir
>
> My Sister in law did luckely incline rather to follow your advice than that of two other physitians that were sent her at the same time.[37]

Presumably Andrew referred here to H.C. and Colladon. He moved the letter on to flatter Locke, dwelling on the fact that he had been given a copy of the *Essay* the previous year.

> Besids that I had told her that humaine understanding was the best ingredient of a Physitian, of which you must have a large share or that you had greatly imposed upon the world, for that you had writ a folio upon it. She is now much better as to her obstructions, but her sweatings contineu stil, and if they do not wear of with the good weather and more exercise it is feared they may prove fatal. But nothing she has yit taken has done her so much good, as what you did prescrive her. You whould make me almost as happy as my brother if you could persive the cure. I have sent you ther case least you should have forgot it.

The communicative chain this time stops at Andrew, as he merely resends the old case, and does not fetch new information from Saltoun and the site of Margaret's body.[38] Andrew expects Locke to use the old case to issue a new prescription, and in doing so to advance his opinion without any advance of information, expecting Locke to 'persive' a new cure by looking again through the old window provided by the letter about Margaret's blood. Andrew's letter also makes it clear that Locke is not getting paid for dispensing advice:

> Sure I am never a Physitian in England but your self would have remembered it a quarter of ane houre without a fie. But you thinck to pass for M^{r} J. Locke and no Physitian, but I pretend it shall be other ways when you come ~~you come~~ first to town or I to Oates Tho I desir your answer with your first leasure.[39]

Fletcher wryly imagines an authentic physician in London going under the cover of the untrained 'M^{r} J. Locke'. He extends his thoughts to Locke's host:

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[37] Locke MS c.8, fol.132.
[38] This is presumed from Locke's reply, discussed below.
[39] Locke MS c.8, fol.132.

> My humble service to the good Lady you may tell her that, tho we be not so, she is very happy in living in the country providing she hear no news, that I have no prejudice agenst her and theirfor writ her none.[40]

The good lady is Damaris Masham, whose house Locke lived in, and Andrew jokes about her choice to retreat out of the realm of news. Andrew's intellectual interests come to the fore at the end of the letter:

> If you aske me what I am doinge I shal tell ^you^ that I am tracing pristcraft from its first original in Ægipt. Wheir I find lickways many other monsters but none so abominable. I am very bussy about many other things of which I shal give you ^ane^ account at metting. I am
>
> Sir
>
> Your obliged humble servant[41]

Andrew writes that he is tracing priestcraft back to early Christianity in Egypt, a project that would, presumably, use historical evidence to explain the corruption of the clergy. The kind of project that Fletcher suggests here is not, in spirit, unlike the researches being undertaken by Newton and Thomas Burnet contemporaneously, and Newton had made notes on that very image of idolatrous animal gods in ancient Egyptian temples that Burnet had used in his 1665 funeral sermon at Saltoun.[42]

This mention of Fletcher's study suggests that he had a firm grasp of language and history, Scripture and politic exegesis styles, and that he understood the principle of going back to uncover Christianity in its original, using the Bible and the Church Fathers. His study of Egypt hinted at a fashionable (amongst Locke's circle at least) *ad fontes* approach in relation to religion and philosophy. By mentioning Locke's *Essay* and his own researches in the same letter he implicitly brought them into a scholarly league.

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[40] Locke MS c.8, fol.132.

[41] Locke MS c.8, fol.132.

[42] Scott Mandelbrote, 'Thomas Burnet (1635-1713)', *ODNB*. Newton believed that the Egyptians twice contributed to corruptions in Christianity: in Ancient times and in the fourth century, when the worship of saints allegedly evolved. Newton had made the following note from Lucian: "The Temples of Egypt are beautiful & large being built of costly stones but if you seek a God within you will find either an Ape or a Stork or a Swallow or a Cat. To represent things by.' David Boyd Haycock, 'Ancient Egypt in 17th and 18th Century England' in *The Wisdom of Egypt*, ed. Peter J. Ucko and T. C. Champion (London, 2003), 133-160; 139. Haycock also explains how John Toland and Thomas Browne investigated ancient Egypt as a source of corruption of Noachic philosophy. For Newton, Athanasius was someone who brought in superstitions to seduce the heathens, and was a propagator of 'monstrous Legends, fals miracles, veneration of reliques, charmes' and 'ye doctrine of Ghosts or Daemons', Richard S. Westfall, *Never at Rest* (Cambridge, 1983), 343-346.

iv. Prophesy, and the Dr. Black and Dr. Broun pamphlets

On 1 March Locke replied with a letter that opened tersely. In the first paragraph of his letter he chastised Fletcher:

> S^{r}
>
> y^{u} could not be more glad of y^{r} sister in laws perfect recovery than I should be in doing y^{u} any acceptable service in reference to it. But whatever occasion the title of my booke may have given y^{u} to complement me to her, y^{u} have either said or shee beleived too much, & y^{u} will be both mistaken if y^{u} take me for a prophet.[43]

Fletcher's comment about 'humane understanding' jars with Locke. It is not necessarily that 'humane understanding' is a concept inapplicable to physic, but that it is the title of a book in Fletcher's library. The idea that someone's skill at physic could be recommended because of their book's title steps on the raw nerves of Locke's belief system. Sydenham, whose legacy Locke championed, had derided physicians who literally and figuratively wandered away from the bedside and the body of the patient – the site of the disease manifest – towards the library, particularly if they consulted books written without a basis of clinical observation, or read their books in an uncritical fashion.[44] The fact that Fletcher had picked out the title of Locke's *Essay* conjured an image of him walking around his library just looking at the spines of his books, feeling the writers to be erudite.[45]

The *Essay* was supposed to prompt people into their own direct inquiries, not to make them defer to Locke's general authority. In the letter to Andrew Fletcher, Locke continues,

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[43] Saltoun MS 17851, fols.22-23.

[44] In one of his notebooks, Sydenham complains how physicians, instead of apprehending diseases with their senses, are 'led away by the notion of malignity (a word that they have read in a booke)', Royal College of Physicians MS 572, p.39. Malignity was a contested concept in these years, but Sydenham's main criticism here is that physicians are being led away from their patients' bodies to a 'notion' and a 'word'. Having decided upon this notion or word they try to fit it onto the patient, a top-down approach that yielded, as Sydenham saw it, catastrophic results in terms of healthcare.

[45] This scene was a Lockean emblem for bad knowing, *Essay*, III.x.26: 'First, he that hath words of any language, without distinct ideas in his mind to which he applies them, does, so far as he uses them in discourse, only make a noise without any sense or signification; and how learned soever he may seem by the use of hard words or learned terms, is not much more advanced thereby in knowledge than he would be in learning, who had nothing in his study but the bare titles of books, without possessing the contents of them. For all such words, however put into discourse, according to the right construction of grammatical rules, or the harmony of well-turned periods, do yet amount to nothing but bare sounds, and nothing else.'

> That w^{ch} makes me suspect this [that Andrew takes him for a prophet] is That y^{u} say not a word but leave me to divine what she hath done & with what successe since y^{u} formerly sent me the case w^{ch} concluding from what y^{u} write that I guessed pretty right at that w^{ch} must lead me to doe any thing farther is to know all the circumstances of hir present state what has been done & what alterations she has found since I writ to y^{u} concerning her. Her stomach her sleep, her recovery of strength or flesh and any other observable good or bad it would be requisite to know neither is it enough ^to be told^ that she is now much better as to her obstructions, tis necessary to be informed whether nature be come yet to its former course as she enioyd y^{t} before her ilnesse or at least approaches pretty near it. For upon that depends much of what is at present to be done besides her diet & exercise is to be regulated but that depends on her strength & stomach & sleep[46]

A prophet is a predictor or fortune-teller, and Locke is angry here because Andrew had simply re-sent him the old case history, the same document he received last time, whereas Locke needed updated information about Margaret's progress: he would have to be a prophet to see across the void of the missing link back to Saltoun. A prophet is also a divinely inspired interpreter, and Locke had done a lot of thinking on the necessity of fallibility in exegeses (of scripture and of diseases). All of his thinking on toleration and medicine over the years had led him to be deeply suspicious of beliefs in infallible interpreters.[47]

The next paragraph of the letter sees Locke rhetorically emphasising the impossibility of a prescription: '*I guesse* she is but weak But tis not to proceed upon *guesses* in things y^{t} may be known. When the patient has told all she can even to the least circumstance' there is still too much 'left to *guessing*'.[48] Locke describes the situation as dark and lacking in light: 'I guesse the Bath waters would now be good for her & that even her iourney thither would doe her good but I know not whether she be able to bear it & I have not light enough to be determind'. He ends by refusing to commit to a prescription: 'I am thinking also of an electuary y^{t} I could prescribe her that might be usefull but I have one rule w^{ch} I

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[46] Saltoun MS 17851, fols.22-23.

[47] A good example of Locke's disbelief of infallibility in the interpretation of Scripture is his note entitled 'Infallible interpreters of Scripture not necessary'. For his views in infallibility towards the end of his life see his short essay on St. Paul's Epistles, written circa 1703. In that piece Locke writes that he does not pretend to 'Infallibility' in his paraphrase or notes: 'That would be to erect my self into an Apostle, a Presumption of the highest Nature in any one that cannot confirm what he says by Miracles'. Both of these pieces are in *Writings on Religion*, 51-72. See also 'De Arte Medica' in which Locke writes about men who make up unfounded theories in physic as 'affecting something of a deity', Walmsley, 'John Locke's Natural Philosophy', 236.

[48] My italics.

always observe in physick that it is better to doe noe thing than to doe amisse & he practices madly who prescribes at hap hazard, w^{ch} has made me always very backward to prescribe at a distance.'[49] He ends his consideration of Margaret with an ultimatum: 'When I am better inlightend & instructed in y^{r} Ladys present condition y^{u} shall readily have my opinion.'[50]

This first section of the letter chastises Andrew Fletcher for evoking authority from Locke's book, and the second section visually dims the image of Margaret. Locke writes 'I must not venture in the dark to doe harme because I have a great compliance with y^{r} commands or because y^{u} think well of me'. Philosophical and material inquiries required both allegorical and real light, and Locke used these images to show his real and textual distance from the patient. When he wrote that he was 'always very backward to prescribe at a distance'. This represents the distance from Oates to Saltoun and the hazards of proscribing by post, but it is a distance that could be closed by the proper use of epistolary space and the ability of letters to make the absent person present – in this case by proper, updated and close description. As it is, Locke perceives the dark place Margaret has currently been situated in and announces: 'I must not venture'. It seems as though Andrew supposed that Locke would have resources in his learning, library or world from which to deduce a cure, but the only thing Locke will study in this instance is Margaret and her bodily effects and sensations in the style of Henry's original case (through which Locke and we saw the viscous texture of Margaret's blood). In terms of Molyneux's comments, cited at the start of this chapter, Andrew has forced Locke to leave 'Things themselves [...] in Darkness'.

This letter then alters in tone, and turns from Margaret to answer the other matters of Andrew's previous letter:

> The Lady whom y^{u} think soe happy invites y^{u} to come & share it with her for y^{u} cannot she says have soe much of that happynesse w^{ch} y^{u} count ignorance of what passes upon the stage makes, any where as here. And she perswades herself one more curious of news than she might passe many days in learning from y^{u} the wisdom & virtue of the ancients without careing what this foolish world is doing I made her a promise in y^{r} name that she should see y^{u} here befor this &

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[49] Saltoun MS 17851, fols.22-23.

[50] Note that Locke here uses 'illuminated' in several senses. Firstly he means 'that receives light from a luminous object; illuminated', but he riffs on the sense of being 'possessed of mental light; instructed, well-informed; free from prejudices or superstition.' *OED*.

> she often reproaches me for y^r^ not keeping y^r^ word Be content to live a few days out of the Chocolate house if it be but to returne from us poore honest country folke, with y^r^ better stomach to the Witts & the Braveries[51]

Locke returns to Masham, saying that Fletcher should have visited her and Locke at Oates. Locke writes of a mutual retreat into the world of learning, in which Fletcher escapes from the public world and Masham learns from him 'the wisdom & virtue of the ancients'. Locke mocks Fletcher's lifestyle, spent in 'the Chocolate house', mingling with the great and the good – 'the Witts & the Braveries' – of his time. The letter ends with a response to Fletcher's study.

> I am very glad y^u^ are traceing what y^u^ tell me & that y^u^ can discover soe much of it soe far back as the time of the Ægyptians I did not at all doubt but ^in^ that politik & religious country there had been much of it but I feard time had ruld out the footsteps of it. But their feet what ever they trample on make pretty deep impressions. y^u^ cannot doe better, pray therfor goe on. My humble service to M^r^ Secretary we hoped to have seen him befor this time I am S^r^ y^r^ most humble servant
>
> J Locke[52]

Locke approved of the 'traceing' methodology that Andrew employed to reveal the sacerdotal structures that had been imposed on early Christianity. The historical image Locke uses here, about the footsteps of the priestcraft-perpetrators being perhaps eroded, but perhaps leaving 'pretty deep impressions', chimes with pedestrial imagery in that Vesalius quote used at the start of this chapter: 'Those who have first *tread* on any matter usually excell those y^t^ follow water being purest neare the fountain'. The way that Locke describes Andrew's study shows that he considers it to be a study that will reach back through the mists of time, and back through layers of subsequent histories. Though Andrew must have been reading texts for his inquiry, they would not be the kind of texts that drew him away from the source: His would be a clarifying style of reading, presumably making use of Scripture and the earliest texts of the Church Fathers.

Locke then added a postscript.

> There was a Pamphlet printed in 93 intitled *Reasons humbly offerd for a Liberty of unlicensed printing.* I had a sight of it two or three days since The printers or booksellers name is not to it nor is there any thing very extraordinary in it But yet

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[51] Saltoun MS 17851, fols.22-23.
[52] Saltoun MS 17851, fols.22-23.

> if y^{u} could light of it & would give it to my Ld Monmouth wither from y^{r} self or me it matters not before the bill for printing comes up to the Lds house y^{u} would obleige me.[53]

This was a book assumed to be by the Freethinker Charles Blount, and was a re-working of *Aereopagitica* published under the initials 'J. M.'[54] The 1662 Licensing Act had been renewed in 1693 yet lapsed in 1695. 'Lord Monmouth' was Charles Mordaunt, Locke's correspondent, who had just come back into favour with the king.[55] Locke had spent the first part of 1695 preparing a paper against the Act, and had advised Edward Clarke on a more liberal printing bill, introduced that March.[56] This part of the letter shows that Fletcher was immersed in the political culture of information exchange, and was able to procure books for Locke and deploy them strategically.

He then added another paragraph to the postscript:

> After I had writ & was ready to seale my letter I received a litle booke thus intuled A looking glasse for the Black band of D^{rs} where in may be seen the ignorance & malice of those physitians who have Clubd under the name of D^{r} Black of suppressing by their Scriblings & other Calumnies soe great a benefit to y^{e} world as the new cure of fevers printed at Edinburgh. 1692. With this booke came a

This is the end of the manuscript letter. 'With this booke came a' are the last words on the page; the rest of the postscript is lost. Yet with the book almost certainly came a letter from Andrew Broun, an Edinburgh physician who had been identifying himself as a supporter of Sydenham's.[57] The letter, passed on by a third party, was addressed by Broun 'to Johne Locke author of the Essay on the Humane Understanding', and Broun identified Locke as a friend of Sydenham's as well as a learned man in his own right and a medical practitioner.

The pamphlet Locke refers to was one in a series of paper bullets, ostensibly regarding the correct method of treating fevers, exchanged between Broun and the pseudonymous Dr. Black, who was comprised of a group of physicians from the Edinburgh College, headed by Archibald Pitcairne, a Jacobite and an admirer of Newton's mathematical

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[53] Saltoun MS 17851, fols.22-23.
[54] Dario Pfanner, 'Charles Blount (1654-1693)' *ODNB*.
[55] John B. Hattendorf, 'Charles Mordaunt (1658-1735)' *ODNB*.
[56] 'John Locke (1632-1704)' *ODNB*.
[57] Locke MS c.4, fols.167-168, fols.169-170; L.1870, Broun to Locke, circa 1 April 1695 (English).

theory.[58] Fletcher and Locke both followed this debate to a certain extent, and pamphlets from the exchange appear in both of their extant libraries.[59] Locke was interested in Broun and collected information on his character, soliciting reports on Broun's reputation from other doctors.[60] The arguments within these pamphlets chimed with the discussion that Locke and Molyneux had had a few years previously. Broun harboured an ambition to be Sydenham's scion and successor, and the pamphlets toyed with Sydenham's legacy in a way that would have instantly interested Locke. I am now going to delve into the text of these pamphlets proper to show how the arguments in them link to themes of thought in the Fletcher correspondence.

Both Dr. Broun and the Pitcairne group (under the moniker 'Dr. Black') understood contemporarily fashionable features of knowledge, and were prepared to argue on those grounds. Evoking the idea of the mistaken authority of old texts, Broun opened his first pamphlet, *A Vindicatory Schedule* (1691), by saying that physicians traditionally 'did rather rely on the discoveries already made by the immortal *Hippocrates*, than endeavour to find out new ones.'[61] He described this phenomenon using language redolent of the rational approach to Scripture, arguing that over time these doctors 'came to be of such Authority that to entertain Sentiments of the Nature and Cure of Diseases differing from these already received was a *Heterodoxy* not to be tolerated.'[62]

Broun moved his argument on to consider Galen, who may seem like an innovator but actually 'strains' the remedies of several diseases 'to a *Theory* agreeable to the *Philosophy* of his time, that pesters not only *Medicine*, but *Theology* likewise'.[63] Deploying the *castles in the air* argument, Broun writes that although Galen 'wreasts' the symptoms of diseases 'to his pre-conceived *Notions*', physicians in following ages 'were content to follow him as a *Pattern*, and to acknowledge him for a *Text*'. Broun depicts the culture of professional

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[58] John Friesen, 'Archibald Pitcairne, David Gregory and the Scottish Origins of Tory Newtonianism, 1688-1715', *History of Science*, 41 (2003), 163-91. Wayne Wild discusses a medical pamphlet war catalysed by the death of a patient in *Medicine-by-Post*, 75-80.

[59] Locke had Broun's *A Vindicatory Schedule* (Edinburgh, 1691) and his *A Looking Glass for the Black Bond* [sic] *of Dr* (Edinburgh, 1692), Harrison and Laslett, *Library of John Locke*, 95. Fletcher also had *A Vindicatory Schedule*, Fletcher, *Bibliotheca Fletcheriana*, 40.

[60] See John Hutton's letter of 27 April: L.1889, and the rather harsher unattributed description of Broun in Locke MS c.4, fol.171 and *Correspondence*, vol.5, 383.

[61] Andrew Broun, *A Vindicatory Schedule Concerning the Cure of Fevers* (Edinburgh, 1691), no page numbers but under the address 'to all ingenious and faithfull physicians.'

[62] Broun, 'to all ingenious and faithfull physicians' in *A Vindicatory Schedule.*

[63] Broun, 'to all ingenious and faithfull physicians'.

medicine as a culture resting on ossified layers of theory – theory believed to be universal but in fact historically located, created, and fallible.[64]

Medicine was hindered for a long time by this wrong-ended approach, Broun writes, and created 'a vast Opposition to all new Inventions', as is apparent in the opposition put up to new '*Physiological* Discoveries': '[T]ho they had the demonstration of our Senses to support them; yet the Credit and Reputation of the ancient *Theory*, (that was quite overturned by them) was such, that with difficulty they were brought to have reception.'[65] This idea, that the majority of physicians are stuck in a wrong-footed mode of inquiry, is used by Broun to explain why his treatise will probably be laughed at and not accepted. He goes on to present his *Vindicatory Schedule* as a Craesus's cry against the 'Calumnies' getting thrown at his 'father' '*that Expert* Dr. Thomas Sydenham'.[66] The calumniators, who have not '*taken* in and *digested*' learning ('the Food of the Mind'), hide 'under the visard of a *polite Personal*' and trick 'undiscerning Persons' into considering them 'well *furnished*, *robust* and *quadrate Champions* in *Medicine*'. They are only good at 'grasping at shadows for substances' and are apparent to more discerning persons as '*squalide*, *languishing*, and *truely enervate*' figures.[67] The physicians who grasped at shadows in this text were similar to the physicians that Molyneux had evoked in his Letter to Locke: physicians who strayed away from the patient's bedside to clouds of theory.

Though Locke seems not to have allied himself with Broun, Broun advocates the same methods that Locke used in his own practice. In his pamphlet, Broun argues for the importance of thoroughly recording the patient's case history, and 'the inserting into a *journal* as a proper conservatory thereof, the whole *history* of the *Physicians* daily practice.'[68] Physicians who don't gather enough information and contemplate it thoroughly enough are likely to be neglectful, as they will not be able to see the patient clearly. Broun wrote about physicians who have no art but 'artifice', and no habit of direct observation, taking on too many patients to increase their reputations.[69] He drew parity between the '*Physician* and the *Lawyer* (and sometimes by a plurality or largeness of the Benifice, also the *Clergy-men*)', who, 'setting down no bounds of their capacity and undertaking [...] profess such a

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[64] Broun, 'to all ingenious and faithfull physicians'.
[65] Broun, 'to all ingenious and faithfull physicians'.
[66] Andrew Broun, 'The Preface' in *A Vindicatory Schedule.*
[67] Andrew Broun, *Vindicatory Schedule*, 18.
[68] Broun, *Vindicatory Schedule*, 22.
[69] Broun, *Vindicatory Schedule*, Section three, 32 onward.

kind of transcendent ability as is like a little Omnipotency'.[70] Broun summarised his argument by explaining the bad structure of knowledge that flourished in physic: 'it is plain, that Artifice in the *Physician* and Error in the people is the best *soil* and *compost* in the natural *climat* of *Opinion* of the most *fragrant* and *luxuriant* Reputation'.[71] This unwarranted reputation, based on blind faith, is what Locke thought Andrew Fletcher had attributed to him when Fletcher made that flippant comment about 'humaine understanding' in his letter about Margaret's health.[72]

In answer to Broun's efforts, Pitcairne's group published an anonymous *Survey of the Vindicatory Schedule* (1691).[73] This *Survey* was unsophisticated satire, presented in the form of a dialogue between Dr. Broun and Dr. Black. Doctor Black goes through Broun's original argument, picking it apart, starting by making a few jibes about the death of Lord Crichtoun, the aristocratic patient who had died under Broun's method.

> *D. Br.* Why Sir, whereas before many good men were sent to Heaven, and bad men to Hell in the vehicle of a feaver, I have now found out a new Method, or at least put in practice ane old one, whereby I never suffer any to die of that desease that are so luckie as to employ me...
>
> *D. Bl.* But hark ye Doctor, they say this miracle-working Method sent my Lord *Chrichtoun*, the Lord knows whither.[74]

Broun had drawn a comparison between the physician, the lawyer and the clergyman and the idea of the physician as a minister of some kind is emphasised here by Dr. Black, as

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[70] Broun, *Vindicatory Schedule*, 32-33.
[71] Broun, *Vindicatory Schedule*, 47.
[72] Broun's argument for Sydenham's method of treating fevers was structured around a medical case study, as he had recently, and unfortunately, treated a prominent figure who had died. Broun's *Vindicatory Schedule* therefore contains 'An Attestation of the Mr. of Forbes His Case', dated the seventh of August 1691 at Edinburgh, which – pitched somewhere between a legal defence and a medical case history – runs through the events leading to Forbes's (otherwise known as Lord Creighton's) death. Having fallen ill of a fever in London, Creightoun travelled up to Edinburgh, where Broun's 'New Method of cureing FEVERS' was recommended to him. Broun's detractors accused Broun of misdiagnosis, and of killing Creightoun, so Broun lists his symptoms in the pamphlet for all to judge, enumerating them as 'a frequent pulse; watching and raveing; continual vomiting; frequent fainting, and total dejection of apetite; extreme weakness, and heavy sicknes.' '*ALSO*,' Broun adds, Forbes had 'such excessive drought, that he thought he burned within, and was so unquenchable, that he drank Four *Scots* Pynts, and more, of cold Water, in twenty four hours.' The case ends with a list of subscribers' signatures, vouching that they too believed Forbes to have been suffering from a fever.
[73] Anon, *A Survey of the Vindicatory Schedule in a Dialogue betwixt Doctor Black and Doctor Brown: With an Account of my Lord Crichtoun's Case* (Edinburgh, 1691).
[74] Anon, *Survey of the Vindicatory Schedule*, 2.

the uncertainty of Lord Crichtoun's posthumous fate is emphasised. When the doctor-characters come to talk about the problem of theory, Dr. Black turns this round to humorously highlight the perils of encountering an experience-based physician early on in his career.

> *D. Br.* Then I tell you that Theory is not worth a button, unless it be taken from practice.
>
> *D. Bl.* Truly Dr. this is pretty odd, that you'l practise before you know how to do it, if this be your way, woe be to him that comes first in your hands.
>
> *D. Br.* Then I tell you the bad Fate of Medicine that it hath been wrapt up many Ages with Phylosophy, in the same fate of Obscurity, by the mist of empty Theory.
>
> *Dr. Bl.* Indeed empty Theory was impertinent in spight of its Mist, to have wrapt up two such Jewels, as Physick and Phylosophy, in that dirty Clout of Obscurity: but you have caused him to pay dear for't, you have prov'd him useless, so there is no fear that he play his Tricks again.[75]

Hidden in the text of this little known pamphlet exchange, itself nestled in the half-lost footnote of Locke's letter, Doctor Broun and Doctor Black argue on themes that featured in Locke and Molyneux's contemporary epistolary exchange, which was also built around the legacy of Sydenham.

In the *Vindicatory Schedule* Dr. Broun had included some biographical material about Sydenham, including a story of his being nearly being shot in the civil war, writing that 'by strange and special Providences' Sydenham was 'pluckt out of the very jawes of Death' when his assailant misfired. Dr. Black answered this by saying that the Jesuit leader Ignatius Loyola was 'wonderfully preserved at *Pampelone*' when a cannon-ball shot between his legs and missed him, and that following this logic: 'therefore the Jesuits are a blessed Society, and their father *Ignatius* no Impostor.'[76] The authors of the Dr. Black pamphlet ridicule Broun's medical method by ridiculing his style of knowledge and belief in general, associating Broun with popery and a belief in magic, false miracles, false prophets and saints.[77]

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[75] Anon, *Survey of the Vindicatory Schedule*, 19.
[76] Anon, *Survey of the Vindicatory Schedule*, 24.
[77] Anon, *Survey of the Vindicatory Schedule*, 24-25. See Friesen, 172: 'What led Presbyterians to suspect Pitcairne of atheism was his critical or mocking attitude to Scripture, miracles, and divine inspiration.' Towards the end of the pamphlet Dr. Black seriously expounds the 'Thoughts of all

Broun wrote back in 1692 to defend himself in a pamphlet titled *In Speculo Teipsum Contemplare Dr. Black.*[78] This pamphlet pushed the argument circuitously onward, with Broun calling the Black-band an 'ape of Learning' with '*petty Arts*, and *sham Tricks*'. Broun wrote that the Black-band's method of curing fevers would leave people who follow it complaining that 'they are gulled' and that 'they have embraced a cloud'.[79] This is the pamphlet that Locke mentions having received in his abbreviated postscript, and it seems fair to assume that he and Andrew Fletcher, avid readers both, would have been familiar with the evolving argument. The pamphlets in this sequence were repetitive and predictable, and Locke probably thought they brought down Sydenham's name, but the links they drew between philosophy, theology, and the bedside treatment of patients shows how ideology easily spilt between those spheres. That Locke and Fletcher were both aware of these pamphlets shows that they were also mutually aware of how broader philosophical arguments could play out by the patient's bedside.

v. Blood II

In response to Locke's demand, Henry Fletcher sent through a new case history, with the story of Margaret's ailment composed in an updated, more concise, more telling narrative.[80] He started 'I shall repeat a litle the condition my wife was in befor she used the remedies prescribed by D^{r} Lock, that the effect they had, and her present condition may be easier understood.' The main section of this new report narrates Margaret's health and situation since taking the *Ens Veneris* 'according to D^{r} Locks advice'.[81] Henry

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Learned Men' regarding fevers, and the actual symptoms associated with them, formally dismantles Broun's arguments, and appends his own 'ACCOUNT of my Lord *Creichtoun's* CASE', claimed to be gathered from an eyewitness to the proceedings. The impression that Dr. Black's version of Creichtoun's death is that other, more competent doctors were taking care of him and that Dr. Broun was called by mistake. When, under normal treatment, Lord Creichtoun deteriorated, the doctors caring for him signed him over to Dr. Broun so that they wouldn't be blamed for the death. When a few days had gone past and Creichtoun hadn't died, Broun prematurely sung his own triumph around the town. When, a few days later, his patient expired, he was mocked. For the format of this pamphlet war it is of crucial that Dr. Black rewrite the final case story, to show that Dr. Broun's 'observational' method gets him nowhere. *A Survey of the Vindicatory Schedule*, Appendix, 1.

[78] Andrew Broun, *In Speculo Teipsum Contemplare Dr. Black: A Looking-Glass for the Black-Band of Doctors* (Edinburgh, 1692).

[79] Andrew Broun, *In Speculo Teipsum Contemplare*, 10.

[80] Locke MS c.8, fol.121, dated 'E$^{dr.}$ 31. may. 95', endorsed by Locke 'M^{rs} Fletchers case 95'

[81] Ens Veneris was a copper compound medicine; Robert Boyle prescribed it for 'anorexia' because of its efficacy in recovering lost appetite, Locke MS d.9, p.60.

wrote of changes that occurred week to week rather than month to month, or year to year as previously. The result is that we are zoomed in to the details of Margaret's body, and subsequently her life, and the language gets more interesting as we see the couple collude to find words to represent Margaret's more acute sensations.

The first month Margaret used the *Ens Veneris*, Henry writes, 'she was some what eased', and 'having continued it another month, she found her self very much the better'; 'the palpitations the pains the coldness the sweatings all diminished by litle and litle, so that towards the midle of the month she thought her self perfectly well and blessed the D^r^ a thousand times'.[82] But at the end of the month they returned again, and – as Henry stretches to describe –

> at this time she felt a great burning in her throat and breast, not in the skin, but as it were inwardly, which she had not befor. At the end of this month, after she had begun to alter, unluckily one of her relations came to see her and kept her late out of her bed when the weather was cold and being likewise told something which grieved her extremly, the cold and the grief put immediatly a stop to the M.

Henry here links mental upset, and being out late in the cold, with the immediate cessation of Margaret's menses. The bad news, which gave Margaret extreme grief, instantly stopped the flow of blood. Immediately after the upsetting visit '[t]he vapours mounted to her head the palpitation returned and she did Sweat five days and nights without intermission'. Her condition then deteriorated, her gums were bleeding or had been bled, and the burning in her breast increased, so she stopped using the *Ens Veneris*, which helped. Henry finished with a description of the present:

> At present her body is much stronger than it was in winter, she can now walk two miles about the midle of th<...> month without Sweating; her stomack is better, except some days whe... she has a faintness on her spirits; she sleeps much better than she di<...> she is always the better of the open air, and of walking, but does not agree so well with ryding. But she is still troubled with sweatings, an<...> with a coldness in her limbs, tho not so much as formerly; her faintness is rather more frequent, and lasts sometimes a whole day; the bleeding at her gums continues: and all thes things are more intense and frequent just befor and after the M. than at any other time.[83]

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[82] Locke MS c.8, fol.121.
[83] Locke MS c.8, fol.121v.

Locke replied to this new letter sympathetically.[84] His advice started:

> The Lady had very ill luck to have at once two such causes to disorder the benefit of nature at soe unseasonable a time. All trouble of minde & takeing of cold must be carefully avoided for the future at y^{t} time.[85]

Having accepted Henry's observation that Margaret's menses ceased when she received the bad news from her relative, Locke responds in kind, urging her to avoid 'trouble of minde'. Though this piece of advice, which links the menstrual cycle with affective events, could appear to embody some kind of theoretical analysis and a deference to received knowledge about the influence of emotions on health, it is important to note that Locke still takes his lead from Henry, who made the link between Margaret's emotions and her menses when he observed it or was told it first hand. Locke is not necessarily deferring to broader knowledge of women to do this: he simply has to consider what he was told made Margaret unwell, and then tell her to avoid it.

Locke responded to two of the catalysts that Henry identified: the cold and the grief. He prescribed a bitter tincture (hiera picra), and steel wine: 'two or three spoonfuls every morning walking after it out of the sun shine but in the open air if the weather be coverd or y^{u} have the convenience of a shady place.' He also suggested a hot herbal soak for the legs, a Melissa Balm (i.e. Lemon Balm) tea, and 'every day 4 or 5 Cacao nuts', providing recipes where necessary.[86] Henry had provided a good history of Margaret, and so Locke had been able to perceive a cure.

Having understood the particularity of Locke's diagnoses, and the need to constantly re-inform the long-distance doctor, Henry followed this letter with another, two months later, writing 'my wifes case is much altered <...> I wrote to you last', explaining that Margaret had deteriorated into more obstructions, fits of the vapours with aguish fits,

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[84] Locke MS c.29 fols. 92-94, endorsed by Locke 'M^{rs} Fletcher Advice ^{95}'; Saltoun MS 17851, fols.24-25, endorsed 'D^{r} L. advice to M. C. for obstructions & vapors June. 95'.
[85] Saltoun MS 17851, fol.24.
[86] Saltoun MS 17851, fols.24-25. Locke's draft copy has extra text that the NLS copy does not, i.e. 'Walk gently as much as y^{u} can in the open air but not soe as to put y^{r} self into a sweat or out of breath & let not the sun heat y^{r} head, therfor in sunshiny days finde out shady walks. Noe thing is better for y^{u} than long being much in the open air espetialy walking but y^{u} must avoid all voilent exercise & tireing y^{r} self. Noe thing is worse than melancholy thoughtfulnesse or any trouble of minde & tireing y^{r} self. y^{u} did well to let bloud when y^{u} found that troublesome heat in y^{r} throat & breasts but it should have been in y^{r} foot & just about the time y^{u} expected Those & then it might have turned much to y^{r} advantage', MS Locke c.29, fols.95-98.

and a bad stomach.[87] He wrote that she might be pregnant, but can't tell whether she is or not. '[I]f she be with child she thinks that the best time to give her ane effectual cure for obstructions will be immediately after she is brought to bed, for then nature performes it[s] office very weakly with her."[88]

vi. Natural birth and nature-hasteners

To this new history, Locke replied at length in a text that seemed to prescribe little physic, but which conveyed many of his own views on the best conduct and lifestyle for a pregnant woman. This is the Scottish copy of the manuscript traditionally called the 'midwifery notes', and is written in Sylvester's, Locke's manservant's, hand.[89]

> If she be ^with^ Child let her not do as is usually with women of Condition, Mew her self up in her Chamber for fear of miscarrying much lesse continue her self to her bed. This makes y^{e} body & spirits weak: w^{ch} is one great cause of miscariage, to w^{ch}: y^{e} constant fear of miscariage (w^{ch}: this managem^{t}) keeps ~~constantly~~ ^up^ in y^{e} minde of y^{e} breeding woman) upon any slight accident joyning it self seldom fails to produce an abortion. For y^{e} minde being kept in a constant apprehension of miscariage every y^{e} least occasion turns y^{t} apprehension into a real fright & what y^{t} produces in teeming women Experience tells us. Hence we see y^{t} amongst y^{e} poore & labouring ~~women~~ country women not one of ten miscarys in comparison of y^{e} abortions to be found amongst people of quality. The phansys of these later being by chat of visitants & y^{e} inculcating of rules set on worke with fear & their bodys kept lazy & without exercise, strength is added to what hurts & threatens; & is withdrawn from w^{t} should support & continue y^{e} foetus in y^{e} womb & so it becomes as unnatural & Extraordinary for a woman of quality to go out her time as it is natural and ordinary for a com*m*on ~~ordinary~~ ^working^ woman to miscary.[90]

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[87] Locke MS c.8, fol.117v, bearing the instructions 'For M^{r} Fletcher to be left at his lodgings nixt dore to the S^{t} Albans tavern in Charles street near S^{t} James^{s} Square London' and endorsed 'M^{rs} Fletchers case 95'. There is a 1.5cm hole in the page.

[88] Locke MS c.8, fol.117.

[89] Saltoun MS 17851, fol.132; Locke MS c.29, fols.95-8. Thanks to Peter Anstey for communicating with me about this. The reason for placing this next in the sequence of correspondence is the date, but also the way that it starts 'If she be with child' which echoes Henry's previous letter, the penultimate sentence of which begins with 'if she be with child'. Dewhurst and Joanne H. Wright have both written articles about Locke's 'midwifery notes' without consulting the Saltoun archive in the National Library of Scotland. Kenneth Dewhurst, 'Locke's Midwifery Notes', *The Lancet*, 267 (1954), 490-491; Joanne H. Wright, 'Recovering Locke's Midwifery Notes' in Nancy J. Hirschmann and Kirstie Morna McClure, ed., *Feminist Interpretations of John Locke*, (Pennsylvania, 2007), 213-240. Though Wright offers a much fuller article, her reliance on Dewhurst and his view of only the Oxford manuscripts forces her to consider these notes as though they are static within Locke's archive and mind.

[90] Saltoun MS 17851, fol.132.

Locke does not use 'Condition' here to refer to Margaret's medical or health condition; Rather he means 'State in regard to wealth, circumstances; hence, position with reference to the grades of society; social position, estate, rank.'[91] The worst threat to Margaret's health is the convention of her class. Women of quality get their 'phansys' turned towards worry, while their unused bodies grow weak. Locke writes that a pregnant woman should 'continue her ordinary course of liveing & Exercise as if she were not; without any apprehension y^{t} nature intended y^{t} women more than any oth^{r}: creatures ~~presently~~ upon their conception should presently change their whole course of life: & be perfectly idle & lazy, for 10. Months togeath^{r}'. 'Lazy' here is not being evoked solely in the sense of 'inactive', but also in a secondary sense of 'sluggish, dull, slow-moving', like the slow-moving blood Margaret had already suffered from. The way to be healthy was to get things moving more quickly. In his writing, Locke made it clear that 'nature's intentions' should be followed, and not the intentions of anyone else.

Drawing an analogy with animals, Locke writes that the pregnant woman should stop moving about only when nature tells her to by making the load too heavy.[92] There are two things to be avoided, Locke points out: lifting great weights and stretching the arms over the head.[93] But:

> All other moderate Exercise espetially in the open air is for y^{e} advantage both of Mother & Child as may be observed in y^{e} Labour & offspring of pore labouring people y^{t} are not pinchd und^{r}: y^{e} difficultys of necessity & want, for they & their births suffer another way.[94]

What Locke wrote here was in keeping with some contemporary perspectives. Seventeenth-century midwife Jane Sharp, who also wrote about assisting and following nature's lead, shared this idea about class differences in birth success. Sharp recommended that

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[91] See *OED* 'Condition' 10. a. 'Condition' in this MS is read the other way, i.e. the pregnant condition by Linda A. Pollock, 'Embarking on a Rough Passage: the experience of pregnancy in early-modern society' in Valerie Fildes, ed., *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England* (London and New York, 1990), 39-67; 51.

[92] Saltoun MS 17851, fol.132: 'If therefor she be with Child let her continue her ordinary course of liveing & Exercise as if she were not; without any apprehension y^{t} nature intended y^{t} women more than any oth^{r}: creatures ~~presently~~ upon their conception should presently change their whole course of life: & be perfectly idle & lazy, for 10. Months togeath^{r}'

[93] Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), 79, explains that avoiding lifting heavy objects has always been amongst advice given to pregnant women.

[94] Saltoun MS 17851, fol.132.

> moderate exercise, for idleness is a great enemy to conception, and that may be the reason why so many City Dames have so few children & if they have any, they are commonly sickly and short lived, it is not so with Country women who are always working, they usually have many children, and they are lusty and strong, for moderate labour raiseth natural heat, revives the spirits, helps digestion, opens the pores, and wasts excrements, comforts all the parts, and strengtheneth the senses and spirits, helps nature in all her faculties, and that is the way to have strong and many children.[95]

As we saw in Henry's previous letter about Margaret's thick viscous blood, quick movement of fluids and heat was something to be desired, and something that 'country' people were achieving automatically through their employment. Locke's comments about exercise and diversion chime with contemporary beliefs about the effect of the imagination of pregnant mothers on their unborn children, and the link between negative thoughts and abortion (or deformity), yet they also chime with contemporary ideas about labour and health that were often gendered towards men.[96] *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, published in 1693, contained lengthy sections on the beneficial hardening of the human clay cottage enjoyed by country, working people. In *Some Thoughts* Locke had written that the best way for a gentleman to preserve and maximise his child's health is to 'use [his] children as the honest Farmers and substantial Yeomen do theirs', because 'most Children's Constitutions are either spoiled, or at least harmed, by *Cockering and Tenderness*.'[97] Like Margaret in her pregnancy, the adolescent 'Country-Gentleman' in *Some Thoughts* was prescribed manual trade for 'Diversion from his other more serious Thoughts and Employments'.[98] In that text, Locke had concluded that 'a lazy listless Humour' was 'the proper state of one Sick and out of order in his Health', and that same wisdom seems to inhere in this advice to Margaret.[99]

Locke recommend that Margaret's 'diet be ordinary plain food such as her stomach likes best & not such as is recom*m*ended by y^{e} uselesse nicetys of others'. He wrote that she

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[95] Jane Sharp, *The Midwives Book* (London, 1671), 178. Sharp also used this argument to defend the use of female midwives, arguing that amongst 'poor Country people where there are none but women to assist (unless it be those that are exceeding poor and in a starving condition, and then have more need of meat than Midwives) the women are fruitful, and as safe and well delivered, if not much more fruitful, and better commonly in Childbed than the greatest Ladies of the Land', 3.

[96] See Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman* (Cambridge, 1980), 42.

[97] Locke, *Some Thoughts*, 84.

[98] Locke, *Some Thoughts*, 257.

[99] Locke, *Some Thoughts*, 260.

should avoid spice and strong liquor, tempering his advice about liquor with his understanding of the roles of custom and fancy:

> And as to drink y^e^ Smallest is always y^e^ best unlesse custom has made strong^r^: liquors necessary & then it is not wholy to be broken off ~~of~~ ^on^ a suddain: but gently to be quitted & by degrees as y^e^ stomach & phansy can be brought to consent.[100]

The fancy, depicted in this instance as an appetite or taste for something, has a role in this process of listening to nature and the natural inclinations of the patient. In this instance, the fancy is one aspect of the patient that will, alongside the stomach, dictate how thoroughly they can be weaned off alcohol. In the *Essay*, Locke depicts the fancy operating in tandem with the stomach. He illustrates his discussion of the association of ideas with a man who has eaten too much honey, who 'no sooner hears the name of it [i.e. honey], but his fancy immediately carries sickness and qualms to his stomach, and he cannot bear the very idea of it.'[101] The patient's 'fancy' (where this means 'appetite' rather than 'imagination') had a real link with the body, and perhaps in medical scenarios functioned as a marker of taste or inclination, linking bodily reactions with mental processes. Earlier in this same advice Locke had written about visitors leading the pregnant woman's fancy dangerously towards fear, thereby dangerously mistuning it from the body and from nature. Yet when the fancy was tuned into the body it could be a useful indicator in health management.

In this advice to Margaret Fletcher, Locke cautiously approves occasional bloodletting, issuing careful instructions about the best way to do it.[102] After the advice about bloodletting, in this lengthy text, Locke continues to write a passage about the conditions in which Margaret should actually give birth.

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100 Saltoun MS 17851, fol.132.

101 *Essay*, II.xxxiii.7.

102 Saltoun MS 17851, fol.132: 'If she has any time before miscaryed as in y^e^ 3^d^. 4^th^: &c. or any other Month be sure a litle before y^t^ time to let blood in y^e^ arm, as much as y^e^ strength & constitution of y^e^ patient will bear: & let it be done with those circumstances; In y^e^ morning; in her bed; & takeing after it as soon as her arm is bound up ag^n^: an Ounce of Diacodium in three Ounces of Cowslip water; & then let her compose her self to sleep ag^n^: somebody sitting by her all y^e^ time of her sleep to watch, y^t^ she do not turne her self on y^e^ side she was bled & so lying on y^e^ bleeded arm by compressing y^e^ Vein, w^ch^ was opend, set it fresh a bleeding, w^ch^ is all y^e^ dang^r^ in sleeping after being let bled. The same remedy of bleeding must be used in y^e^ same method ~~mus~~ if she findes y^e^ Child any time bustling & disorderd or any tendency toward miscariage by any frightfull or any other occasion.'

> When y^e^ time of birth draws near ~~xxx~~ not be forward to put herself into labour, nor ^let^ her midwife ~~xx~~ be too busy with her. Those for y^e^ most part are medling but ignorant women, who thinke they must be doeing something (y^t^ they may not appear uselesse & unskilfull) though it be generally to y^e^ ~~pred~~ prejudice of y^e^ great bellyed women who by y^e^ officiousnesse of y^e^ midwife being put upon labour before y^e^ Child is full ripe for y^e^ birth, have their strength wasted before y^e^ time y^t^ they should bring forth & so both Mother or Child or both perish under it. The natural birth is a worke only of nature w^ch^ only knows when y^e^ fruit of y^e^ wombe is full ripe, & if it be let alone till y^t^ time, it drops as it were of it self; 'tis certain it comes easiest.

As he alluded to animal pregnancies, Locke now alludes to fruit trees. He considers midwives to be the same as forcing medicines, as damaging nature-hasteners plucking an unripe fruit from its host. Sharp, in her midwifery manual, agrees with this advice too, warning (in her chapter 'To know the fit time when the Child is ready to be born') against hastening the birth or forcing the child out – something that should only be tried when the mother is dying.[103] Locke's advice continues,

> The way therefor to be soonest, easiest & safest brought to bed, is to avoid y^e^ labour of Childbirth & decline y^e^ thoughts & ways of being deliverd as long as you can & not presently to put yo^r^ self upon it upon y^e^ first pains & tendencys to~~ward~~ it Nature cannot be much hastend (^at^ least safely) in this worke. And when it is y^e^ time (if y^e^ Strength has been preservd from hasty tampering) cannot be delayd. And therefor take heed of forward hands & forceing Medecins. At y^e^ time of Labour ~~not~~ y^e^ room ^is not^ to be crowded with useless women so many & no more as will be of use to y^e^ woman in Labour are all that should be there all y^e^ rest hurt, hind^r^ and <...> one anoth^r^, & spoile y^e^ air of y^e^ room w^ch^ is y^e^ great refreshm^t^ to y^e^ woman in Labour. As y^e^ open air is of great use to a breeding woman so nothing so dangereous to her as soon as she is deliverd & therefor should be imediately had to bed nay y^e^ best way is to be delivered in bed but y^e^ fashions of Countrys are not easily to be alterd.[104]

There is a lot going on in this passage. Locke writes that the best way for a mother to conduce a healthy birth, as well as avoiding forward medicines, is to avoid forward thinking, and so to not think about labour too much before it starts, but to let 'nature' and the body guide the thoughts. The word *use* was very particular to Locke and when he writes about 'useless women' here he means women who, in the situation, have no practical application. In the first instance above Locke is talking about midwives, who he says are 'for y^e^ most part are medling but ignorant women'. In the second instance he is

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[103] Sharp, *The Midwives Book*, 205-206. Locke also made notes on not forcing birth in his journal, during the period he was in the Netherlands with Limborch and the College there, see Joanne H. Wright, 'Recovering Locke's Midwifery Notes', 220.
[104] Saltoun MS 17851, fol.132.

talking about gossips and other women who are not officially *mid wife* but are in the room anyway.

Locke warns against types of talk and talkers, firstly against the 'chat of visitants', and secondly against the gossips, who use up the clean air and do no good in the lying-in room. Gossips were at once defined by their role and their locution, a 'gossip' being both 'a woman's female friends invited to be present at a birth' and 'a person, mostly a woman, of light and trifling character, esp. one who delights in idle talk [and] groundless rumour'. As well as its ability to toy with mothers' fancies, bad chat from women could turn into 'old wives tales' and seep into the mind of the foetus. In the theory that Locke adhered to, children's fresh minds were extremely malleable; they were like soft *tabulas rasas* ready to receive any imprint. This made the idea of idle, bad chatter all the more dangerous, as the women propagating the talk could effectively be like printing presses of error encircling the blank pages of the new child.[105] Gossip in its locutionary sense is described by the dictionary as specifically 'groundless' talk, linking it to the ideas of theoretical clouds and intellectual *castles in the air* that we have seen above.

vii. Sydenham's physic

One way of understanding Locke's approach to forcing medicines and forcing hands is to delve again into Sydenham's work. In his writing on fevers, as in his writing on smallpox, Sydenham adopted an attitude of deep cynicism towards physic. In his workbooks, he noted that evidence suggested that people who took physic actually died or deteriorated more often than people who didn't. He railed against the 'unskillfull management of Physitians' and the over-application of harsh physic in the treatment of Smallpox. Physicians could be 'more fatall [...] then perhaps any one disease whatsoever'.[106]

Sydenham was not an aristocrats' physician, and he had treated a broad enough spectrum of people to note the socio-economic divide between physic-takers and abstainers,

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[105] 'Neither parents ... or Nurse, or Schoolmaster, or Poet, or Playhouse depraves our senses nor can the Consent of the Multitude mislead them; But all sorts of traps are laid to seduce our understandings ... by those whom I have just mentioned, who when they receive us tender and ignorant, infect and bend Us as they please', John Toland, *Letters to Serena* (London, 1704), 'The Preface' B4.

[106] RCP MS 572, p.41.

remarking 'how easy it is to solve that com*m*on doubt how it comes to pass that in the small pox so few die amongst the com*m*on people in comparison of the rich'. The relative longevity of poor smallpox sufferers, Sydenham continued, 'can*n*ot be thought referrible to any other cause then that they are deprived through the narrowness of their fortunes & their rude way of living from the opportunities of hurting themselves with a more p*re*cise & tender keeping.'[107] It was the rich who tended to be able to afford physic, and who would more readily take to their beds, and so it was the rich who were more likely to deteriorate while being treated for a disease. In dispensing medical advice, Sydenham would sometimes suggest that poor people could be treated in exactly the same way as the rich.[108]

One of Sydenham's key motifs, which was firmly linked to his observations about the potential danger of physic, was to develop therapeutic regimes that worked with nature rather than against it.[109] Again in the example of smallpox, one of Sydenham's arguments was against the over-heating of patients, the cure of which traditionally entailed the patient's incarceration in a very hot room with a raging fire and layered bedclothes. In place of this measure Sydenham advocated a more moderate regime in which the patient was kept out of bed and, when they took to bed in latter days, were not heated above their usual comfort level, (as one scholar summarises) 'the guide [to therapy] being the patient's own comfort and inclinations of the moment'.[110] The following example from Sydenham's notebook, of a stout porter diverted from his natural path of health, explains Sydenham's attitudes towards harsh medical regimes.

> Truely the just indignation I have both at the folly & cruelty of the receaved practise in this disease, provokes me to appeale to the less fallible because com*m*on reason of mankind whether the event were not to be suspected if the stoutest Porter or some such person under the happiest circumstances of health & vigor should be taken from his business & for experiment sake should be putt to bedd, where, ^wth^ the curtains close drawne & a large fier in the roome he should be kept in a sweat or (to use a softer name) in a gentle mador for some

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[107] RCP MS 572, p.41.

[108] See for example his advice to Elizabeth Northumberland, discussed in chapter 4.

[109] Compare L.1902; Locke to Limborch, 15 November 1688. 'The fact is that those who wish to recover their health safely should not be too hasty in recovering it; the commonest offenders in this respect are females, especially sick-nurses; they believe that nothing contributes so much to the restoration of strength as abundance of nourishment, where the strength and quantity of what is taken should be increased only gradually in proportion to the increase in the patient's bodily powers.'

[110] RCP MS 572, pp.44-45; Bates, 'Thomas Sydenham', 20-22; Cook, 'Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689)', *ODNB*.

> weekes, being in the meane while more fully assisted by a nurse or two who upon the least moving from his furme or putting a finger out of bedd should be constrained to drinke possett drinke or some such mixture & likewise to take Cordialls of sundry kinds & in severall forms 3a vel 4a quag hora. for my owne part I should noe less suspect his life to be hassard under such discipline, then his case to be very uneasy.[111]

The perfectly well porter in this story has been subjected to a harsh medical regime, imposed on him by those nurses who know how to make 'Cordialls of sundry kinds' and keep forcing them on him. The poetics of this scene are rich as the porter – a title which initially indicated 'A gatekeeper, esp. at the entrance of a fortified town or castle' – gets his constitution broken by nurses who are focussed on the *castles in the air* of 'received practice', and do not notice him languishing and deteriorating in darkness. Though tailored to illustrate mistreatment in a specific disease, this excerpt makes the same move that Locke makes with his midwives, linking them with anti-natural forcing. Locke's midwives and these nurses are not only applicators of harsh regimes, but appear as part of those regimes themselves, like human drugs.[112] This text on childbirth, with its emphasis on the rhythms of nature, could be read as a continuation of Sydenham's legacy and an adoption of his approach to alexipharmic, lifestyle-based advice.

Locke had once written to Edward Clarke that physicians were 'nature's interpreters'.[113] In that letter at the start of this sequence, where Locke chastised Andrew for failing to send an update on Margaret's health, Locke had written

> Her stomach her sleep, her recovery of strength or flesh and any other observable good or bad it would be requisite to know neither is it enough ^to be told^ that she is now much better as to her obstructions, tis necessary to be informed whether nature be come yet to its former course as she enioyd y^{t} before her ilnesse or at least approaches pretty near it.

In that instance, Locke was looking for a report on whether 'nature' had come back to its usual course. Reading for signs of Margaret's health meant reading 'her stomach her sleep, her recovery of strength or flesh and *any other observable*'.[114] The way Locke and

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[111] RCP MS 572, pp.44-45.

[112] In many of the letters that Locke received soliciting advice on health, the letter-writers would sign off by explaining what the physicians they had consulted had prescribed. It is as though Locke was advising his acquaintances on the veracity and use of doctors' comments as much as on the ailments they themselves were suffering from.

[113] L.799; Locke to Edward Clarke, December 1684 (English).

[114] My italics.

Sydenham cast it, the main problem with both Margaret's midwives and the nurses attending to the stout porter, is that they don't, won't or can't read nature, they are too busy responding to books or talk, and therefore are in danger of picking the fruit of the womb before it is ripe, or killing someone in perfect health.

viii. Lady Downe's stomach: an exchange of experience

The Fletchers continued to collect advice from Locke over the next decade, and to gather their own advice from elsewhere. The extant material shows that Henry continued to write good, first-hand descriptions, and Andrew collected first-hand experience from his circle of acquaintances. When Henry Fletcher was taken ill in January 1698, Andrew wrote to Locke about Henry's colic on Margaret's behalf, writing that 'His wife persuaded him to take some of the *Ens Veneris*, but it had no operation upon him. She desirs to know whither any phisical diet; or woman milk will be good for him.'[115] Andrew continued 'I have writ you the account with all the circumstances it was writ to me, because I know it was necessary to do so', and he forwards the document as it came in Henry's voice, perhaps having learnt from Locke's previous backlash over Margaret's old case notes.

> I observe that my cholick returns upon me evry six weeks or thereby: it may sometimes be hastned by some irregularitys either of dyet or the passions, or put off for some longer time by a strict regime, but it still returns.

Colic meant griping pains in the belly, outbreaks of which Henry had learnt coincided with certain emotional states:

> I never find my self more easy and alert and chearfull, than for a day or two befor I take the pains, so that I begin to dread the being too well.

Henry had also thought about how to describe the shape and location of his pains:

> The pain during the time that it is violent is fixed about my navell; it is not constant, I have short intervals: but I have still a rumbling in my gutts. When the

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[115] L.2381, Andrew Fletcher to Locke, 25 January 1698 (English). Andrew's covering letter opened with laments that the pair had not been able to meet, as they must often have done. He writes of Henry: 'A fourthnight after he came home he had a collick in his belly [...] Since his returne he has lickways been much troubled with belching up of wind [...] He eats and slips well; but is still much troubled with the sturring in his nerves in time of slipe.'

> pain begins to leave me, it flys towards my sides, and then up to my breast and cutts my breath.

He offers Locke a description of all eventualities, and all permutations of the pain:

> The pain is always accompanyd with vomiting and purging in the begining, and the more I vomit I am the sooner well: this last time I vomited but litle, and it was the severest fit and lasted longest. After thes evacuations are over and the violence of the pain a litle abated, I grow cold and tremble a litle, and then I grow hot and sweat: if the Sweat be great it carrys off all the pains, but if it be but a breathing Sweat the pains continue, but befor they go away I always fall into a great sweat without taking any thing to provoke it, yet continues sometimes 12 sometimes 24 hours.

From the immediate shape of the pains and the short-term phenomena, Henry works the perspective out to a broader timeframe:

> Ordinarly the pains continue 3 or 4 days, this last time they continued 10 days. I have no appetit for meat till some days after the pains are gone, and then my appetit is good enough. Immediatly after the pains are gone I find my body very feeble and my spirits low, but in a week or ten days I recover perfectly. The physitians here think that my cholick proceeds from bile, and that the drinking the Bath waters has increased my disposition to it. They advise to ride frequently, and to drink the steel waters.[116]

Henry's narrative was precise and he had written it up successfully in the Lockean style, projecting and illuminating himself into the epistolary space.[117]

Henry apparently continued to suffer from colic, and the brothers' continuing letters shed more light on the exchange between London and Scotland and the medical culture that evolved after the period discussed above. In 1700 Andrew sent a letter to Henry 'To be left at M[r] Oliphant's shop' in Edinburgh.

> London the 13[th] of Aprill

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[116] MS Locke c.8, fol.122.

[117] L.2115; Locke to William Molyneux, 4 August 1696 (English). In the 1690s, William Molyneux's and Locke's correspondence was disrupted by a bout of serious colic that William suffered from. Locke wrote to William about the illness, telling him to count himself lucky that he had was able to access his brother, the physician Thomas Molyneux, with whom Locke had exchanged letters about Morton's book of fevers, discussed at the start of this chapter. He wrote 'I know you are in skilful, as well as careful hands, under the care of your brother, and it could not be advisable for anyone to draw you from them.' He then proceeded to say to say 'The cholick is so general a name for pains in the lower belly, that I cannot from thence pretend to make any judgement of your case', though he does say that he has heard that the Bath waters 'mightily strengthen those parts'.

> I receved yisterday your of the 5th and am mighty sorry your colick should trouble you again. I have sent you with Gleneagles who parts his day with the M. of T. half a pint of a tincture made by an Piters which my land lady (who is mightyly troubled with the collick) sayes is very soverain against it. She takes 3 spoonful at a time in the morning for 2 or 3 days togidder always when she is troubled with it; and it makes her presently fall a spitting ~~xxx xxx~~ till she be eased. If it agrie with you you shal have what quantity you please. Ther is lickway inclosed a very approved remidy of Dr Lower but I have not sent the book out of which I took it (as I wrot in that letter which goes with Gleneagles) but shal send it with those books that come ~~wh~~ with Mr Deans his things by Sea. Pray do not apprehend that my keeping 2 horses this summer will put me to any great expence for I shal manage the best I can. And in winter by the seal of them that make up all. My service to all friends. Adieu.[118]

As with the letters and tea that we saw Locke exchanging with his Dutch friends in the last chapter, there is here, too, a ready traffic of items and advice up and down the land. News of health mixes with news of the household as he excuses the expense of his two horses. John Hay the Marquess of Tweeddale and Gleneagles were local landowners and politicians, who presumably also travelled between London and Lothian like Andrew. Fletcher had been talking to his London landlady about her stomach gripings, and she had recommended Peters' tincture. She has not only been willing to proffer the recipe, but she has also proffered testimony from her own body of how it worked on her, enabling Fletcher to include news of his landlady's spitting to endorse the remedy.

In 1702 Andrew sent, in a letter headed D.S. – presumably 'Dear Sister', a receipt for the Balm of Gilead, traditionally a resin from the poplar tree.

> Edr 3d March 1702
>
> D. S.
> I send you the balme you must take evry night from 5 to 7 drops, dropt in fine Shugar candy brayd to pouder and made up lick a pile which you must swallow. And drinck a glass of warme Mum after it. I have sent you out 2 bottles of Mum least you have none by you, if you have not let me know on Frayday and you shal have more. You need not be affrayd of yor badness of stomack; for it cured my

[118] Saltoun MS 17851, fols.33-34. The remedy is also labelled 'To make Dr Lower's Tincture commonly call'd Daffy's Elixir' and the recipe given as 'Take of the best Senna, Guiacum, Liquorish, Slic'd Small Aniseeds, Coriander Seeds, & Elecampane-root, of each half an ounce; Raisins of the sun ston'd a quarter of a pound; Let them all be bruis'd, and put into a quart of the best Aqua vite. the dose is 2 or 3 ounce. It gives present ease in the colick.' These are typical ingredients for the elixir, missing a few, like saffron.

> Lady Downe who's stomach was so bad that for 7 year befor she vomite every day. Let my horses come in Frayday night. My service to all with you. Adieu.[119]

Andrew, writing from Edinburgh this time, sent Margaret the balm, and two bottles of the wheat malt beer she should drink with it, but he also sent her more proof, this time from Lady Downe, with news of Lady Downe's seven years of vomiting to prove the efficacy of the cure. Elsewhere Locke had described colic as 'general a name for pains in the lower belly', and here, in these instance of illness, Andrew pulls in testimonies from other women's stomachs to better understand the problems and their cures, though his vast library contained many physic books. By pooling their experiences across the island, Andrew's acquaintances and his sister-in-law were working to narrow the caveat that Dr. Black had noticed about the perils of being the first to try a certain method of medication. Presumably the further your epistolary realm and sphere of news reached, the more likely you were to be able to find someone else who had tried each medical recipe before you had to pioneer it.

It was Henry who replied.

> My wife thanks you for the Balm, she got 2 bottles of Mum from Katharin Furd. I expect M[r] Mungo Carnegie here this night, he returns to morrow, let me know with the lad y[t] brings out his horses again when you intend to come to Salton. Keith has sent back the book you lent him. I forgot always to tell you y[t] our mother took M[rs] Humes Petrarch as a very great present. adieu.[120]
>
> Salton 6 March

The traffic of books to Saltoun continued, and this letter shows Mrs Hume gifting a copy of Petrarch, the famous humanist poet, to Henry and Andrew's mother, and 'Kieth' returning a loaned book to Andrew Fletcher. The same channel that bore these books bore snippets of medical testimony from Andrew back to Margaret. The act of the landlady and Lady Downe openly observing and describing their bowel and stomach movements shows that they too had observed themselves in the attentive manner that Locke had asked Henry to observe Margaret, and the manner in which Henry had

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[119] Saltoun MS 17851, fols.37-38.

[120] This could have been the wife of David Hume of Crossrig (1643-1707). A possible alternative is Patrick Hume of Polwarth, a politician who had been in exile in the Netherlands, living under the guise of a surgeon called 'Dr Wallace'. He was the grandson of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth (c.1550-1609), a courtier and poet, so perhaps it was his Petrarch that had been passed down to Fletcher's mother.

described himself in his outbreak of colic. In terms of that original *ad fontes* quotation, they were treading quite close to the fountain, as information about these women's stomachs came fresh from the flesh and not from the mists of theory. No doubt Locke would have approved of the way Andrew Fletcher facilitated the circulation of bodily testimony around the land at the turn of the eighteenth century. Testimony from stomachs was more reliable than advice from people's imaginations.

Though the material discussed above deals with a full spectrum of ideas, Locke's feelings about the superiority of accurate observation over the 'waking dreams' of unquestioned orthodoxy or theory-driven invention in matters of health permeates throughout, and even finds its way into the reading matter he circulated in his postscripts. I don't think it is extravagant to say that behind Locke's ideas in the 1690s lay a horror of nurses, physicians and other helpers who acted without reference to what Locke called 'nature'.

The visual scenes of error that Locke and Sydenham describe depict people behaving in what we might term an automatic or mechanical – almost ceremonial – manner, and there is no doubt that Sydenham's scenes of the physician walking away from the patient towards the library, and of the nurses destroying the sturdy porter with approved cordials were vivid in Locke's mind as he communicated with the Fletchers; He seems to have been imagining a potentially similar scene of error and darkness unfolding around Margaret's child-bed. By looking at the material exchanged between Locke and the Fletchers, in the dynamic aspect offered by two archives, we can see both the nature of the smokescreen of obscurity that Locke dreaded, and – in the clear descriptions written by Henry Fletcher, and those little nuggets of text about Lady Downe and the landlady's innards – the kind of details or 'nature' that he advocated attending to.

Margaret Beavis, Elizabeth Northumberland and Isabella Duke: disease categories *vs.* live scenes

A particularly striking passage in the incongruous Preface to Thomas Sydenham's *Observationes Medicae* (1676) described the benefits of writing up natural histories of diseases.[1] The Preface argued that although some difference in the 'particular temperament' of individual patients and variations in their treatment could yield slightly different disease phenomena,

> Nature, in the production of disease, is uniform and consistent; so much so, that for the same disease in different persons the symptoms are for the most part the same; and the selfsame phenomena that you would observe in the sickness of a Socrates you would observe in the sickness of a simpleton. Just so the universal characters of a plant are extended to every individual of the species; and whoever (I speak in the way of illustration) should accurately describe the colour, the taste, the smell, the figure, &c., of one single violet, would find that his description held good, there or thereabouts, for all the violets of that particular species upon the face of the earth.[2]

The argument of the piece is that diseases, through repeated careful experimental observation of individual instances, can 'be reduced to definite and certain species'. Derived from botany, this approach depended on the writer enumerating the 'particular and constant' phenomena of the disease that he sought to document, rather than the 'accidental and adventitious ones' – which meant excluding the particularities of *personal* character from the description, even though the diseases were by their very nature being observed in the bodies of the people who suffered from them.[3] This passage serves to remind us that in the natural history of diseases, individual human identities can become irrelevant, as shown in the example of Socrates – one of the world's wisest men – and a simpleton, who, despite their different personas, can host homogenous sicknesses and become part of a shared history. The critical procedure described in the Preface allows for a workable science of disease, which is of much use to medical research.

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[1] G. G. Meynell, 'John Locke and the Preface to Thomas Sydenham's *Observationes Medicae*', *Medical History*, 50 (2006), 93-110. As Meynell has discussed, the long Preface sat at odds with the main text of the *Observationes*, as the latter featured observations of particular London epidemics and fevers, whereas the Preface seemed to set out a manifesto for the practice of medicine and the study of disease. In this article, Meynell argued that Locke had written or at least assisted with the Preface.

[2] This quotation is taken from R. G. Latham's 1848 translation of the 'Preface' made for the Sydenham Society and reproduced in Meynell, 'John Locke and the Preface to Thomas Sydenham's *Observationes Medicae*', 104.

[3] Meynell, 104.

Yet strange decisions seem to arise when a person who is thought to have suffered from a particular species of sickness enters history. Are they recorded as an instance of a disease-type and subsumed into the historiography of that ailment? Or are they written about as a particular person experiencing a sickness from their own historically located perspective? The answer to this can depend on a number of factors, including the tone and format of the extant archival material, and on the perspective chosen by the scholars writing about it.

The way that Margaret Beavis, Isabella Duke and Elizabeth Northumberland have been treated by medical historians and biographers, and have not yet been adequately re-considered (in print) by newer Locke experts, has left both their sicknesses and their lived experiences narrowly understood. Their identities and ailments are usually conflated into a master category of 'nervousness' in a way exemplified by Wayne Glausser in his book *Locke and Blake.*[4] In one chapter of that book, Glausser makes an argument about Locke, Blake and the body, using Cranston and Dewhurst, the biographer and the medical historian from the mid-twentieth century, as his sources.[5] Following their leads, Glausser enters the topic from the perspective of 'Locke and his colleagues' Willis and Sydenham, 'two of the most prominent English physicians of the time'.[6] He writes about how 'Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century doctors' and 'Enlightenment physicians' thought about nervous disease as a broad category, and goes on to explain the views of the 'most sophisticated physicians' of Locke's moment.[7] These physicians, we are told, considered women more prone to nervous disorders than men; Locke's notes to Thomas Willis' lectures, which record that 'the female head is weaker than the male', are used as evidence, as are Sydenham's own notes, which observe that nature has given women 'a more delicate and fine habit of Body' than men, as they were designed for 'an easy Life'.[8] Moving on, Glausser tells us that Locke's views on these female disorders, which stem from both the uterus and the brain, are evidenced in his treatment of 'his patient Mrs. Beavis' and in the case of 'Lady Northumberland's neuralgia', both of whom, as Glausser presents it, were examples of the 'Idle and delicate'/'delicate and fine' type, whose spirits

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[4] Wayne Glausser, *Locke and Blake, a conversation across the eighteenth century* (Gainesville, 1998), 49-53. As a secondary commentator not working from the archives, and someone who has written a synopsis of available scholarship, Glausser is a good litmus test of the available critical attitude.
[5] Cranston, *Locke*; Dewhurst, *Physician and Philosopher.* See the introduction to this thesis for a description of these works.
[6] Glausser, *Locke and Blake*, 49.
[7] Glausser, *Locke and Blake*, 49-50.
[8] Glausser, *Locke and Blake*, 50.

were driven to 'fugues and distractions' by their 'trivial emotions'.[9] Buoyed by the spirit of his sources, Glausser considers Mrs Beavis and Lady Northumberland from the perspective of advanced seventeenth-century physicians filtered through the pens of 1950s critics, and so sweeps them into the broad category of nervous illness that he has told us most contemporary doctors perceived.

There is of course truth in what Glausser says about the prevailing attitudes in seventeenth-century academic medicine with regard to nervous disease, and Sydenham and Willis' opinions (and Locke's notes on them) are indeed archetypal of the well-documented sentiments found in medical literature of that century that linked the female system to nervous illness through gynaecology.[10] There is also undoubtedly a cause for acknowledging that Locke was educated under these principles. Yet as accurate as he may be in terms of views on nervousness and hysteria within the academy, it is not necessarily accurate to present these women's cases only from the perspective of the medical profession.[11] The fact that Locke and others' classifications of nervous disease *could* include Beavis, Northumberland and Duke is not enough: we need to ask whether those three cases were placed into such categories at the time. This chapter treats three of Locke's female friends who have been – through misread contexts and a critcal focus on the professional perspective of medicine –historically mangled through some rather rigid nosological pigeonholes. Caught up in the image of Locke as a collector and classifier of information, critics have sometimes perceived him as more eager to categorise his diseases than he seems to have been, depicting him in a physician-patient dynamic that was not always there.

I shall now retrace these women's stories, highlighting un-noted facets and considering the interplay between disease and the experiential perspective both contemporaneously and in the critical heritage.

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[9] Glausser, *Locke and Blake*, 50, quoting Sydenham. Willis probably used 'fugue' here in its etymological sense, from or Latin *fuga* = 'flight'. It is interesting to consider that the term may have particularly appealed to Dewhurst as modern psychiatry retained the concept of *fugue* to mean 'A flight from one's own identity, often involving travel to some unconsciously desired locality.' *OED*.

[10] As explained in Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 28-46.

[11] I use accurate here in the sense of 'careful' via the Latin *accuratus*: 'performed with care'.

i. Margaret Beavis

Thinking about those quotes from Sydenham and Willis about women's weak brains and nervous dispositions, Wayne Glausser wrote of Margaret Beavis:

> Locke's views on nervous women showed the influence of his two teachers. Writing to a colleague about his patient Mrs. Beavis, he says that she 'is not got soe far either from her French melancholy or English malady ... you know how soft she is in this part of her soul, too apt to receive and retain such uneasy impressions'[12]

Caught up in the idea of a straightforward clinical encounter, Glausser describes Mrs Beavis as a 'patient' – a move that perhaps suggests to the reader that this (elided) description of Mrs Beavis had arisen after she, or perhaps her husband, asked Locke's advice on some ailment that she suffered from. 'French melancholy or English malady' insinuates some emotional disturbance, but the original context of this quotation shows that the tone, occasion and purpose of the description were very different than the academic physician-patient context suggested by Glausser and the writers he relied on.

Mrs Beavis was an attendant to the wealthy noblewoman Elizabeth Northumberland, and in 1670 she married the family chaplain, the Reverend Thomas Blomer, a man whom Locke had known since his schooldays.[13] The context from which Glausser's quotation comes is a letter that Locke wrote to John Mapletoft, a qualified and well-regarded physician and a friend, who was in Denmark with the ambassador Arthur Capel.[14] Mapletoft, another Westminster school *alumnus*, was also attached to the Northumberland household, having tutored the young Josceline Percy in the 1650s. Josceline Percy was the eleventh earl of Northumberland, whom Elizabeth (née Wriothesley) had married in 1662.

The letter that Locke wrote to Mapletoft in July 1670 carried a certain weight, as Josceline, in his maturity known as the eleventh earl of Northumberland, had died that May at the young age of twenty-five. It is a strange, awkward letter, written about ongoing grief over the death of a mutual friend. Locke began by acknowledging Mapletoft's inevitable feelings, writing 'I know the news of my Lord Northumberland's

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12 Glausser, *Locke and Blake*, 50. Glausser's elision.
13 *Correspondence*, vol.1, 338; Woolhouse, *Locke*, 80.
14 *Correspondence*, vol.1, 338; Woolhouse, *Locke*, 80.

death hath given you but too much sadnesse'.[15] After joking about the heavy drinking habits of the Danes, amongst whom Mapletoft temporarily resided, Locke continued 'I hope the ill news I sent you, after that which was deeply died in black, but, like fullers earth laid upon a stain, will, when tis rubd out again, carry away with it some of the former sully, and leave your mind clearer then before'.[16]

Within the bounds of this letter, Locke is unsure about whether to amuse or comfort Mapletoft, and explains this as uncertainty over the letter's tonal plateau: 'I cannot tell whether it be not as convenient for you to bring your minde a little this way as for me to join my condoling to your sadnesse'. Locke continues, 'This same sober sadnesse looks so ill in Mrs. Beavis, and has done her soe little good, that I begin to be out of love with it in myself and all my friends.'[17] Mrs Beavis is introduced here, and is described as suffering from the same legitimate emotion as Mapletoft and the rest of Locke's familiars. Locke, Mapletoft, and Beavis were close, and Locke ends his letter sincerely by writing 'however I talke idle upon other occasions, I am very serious and in earnest'.

In a postscript to this letter Locke mentions the thoughts of mutual friends, and it is here that the subject turns to Margaret Beavis in a sustained way. The passage, from which Glausser's elided quotation came, runs thus:

> Dr. Sydenham desires to be kindly remembered to you.
>
> Mrs. Beavis is not yet got soe far either from her French melancholy or English malady, as to dare to trust herself with those thoughts which a letter to you must needs produce in her.[18] This is that only which withholds her hand. You know how soft she is in that part of her soule, too apt to receive and retain such uneasy impressions, toward the defaceing whereof time has hitherto don but litle. But as if they were of lasting monumentall marble, time, as he uses to doe with such pieces, is able yet to only strow over those deaths heads she delights to pore on with coverings of dust, which every sigh of her's [sic] blows off, and the least reflection that way, brings into full view a croud of melancholy objects. Knowing therefor her temper as you doe, and how apt she is to relaps, I doubt not that you will be glad that she begins to have any care of herself, and is at last soe far

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[15] L.243, Locke to Dr. John Mapletoft, July 10 1670 (English).
[16] L.243. The details of the second batch of bad news are not extant.
[17] L.243.
[18] Nationalised melancholies and maladies were evoked in the period to signify a myriad of ailments, notably 'French malady' for syphillis. Locke seems to use 'French melancholy' and 'English malady' here to play with those monikers and to deliberately indicate a vague, unfocussed illness which he then goes on to describe.

> concearned for her own quiet, as to shun occasions which may recall those sorrows under which she has suffered but too long and too much already.[19]

The possible conformity of this description to a professional medical idea of 'nervous women' seems to be the least interesting aspect of it. It is a striking image. In Locke's scheme, Margaret's internal world has been carved into a museum of horrors that are non-degradable. This has happened because of her softness, and her proclivity to collect melancholy 'objects'. Marble is the strongest material for mental furnishings on Locke's scale, the weakest being sand, as he establishes in the *Essay*.[20] Death's heads could either mean skulls, or some other *mementos mori*. This is a creative description of Margaret Beavis' interiority, which, despite the trick of it being exchanged between two doctors, was not composed for medical purposes at all. The purpose of describing Margaret's state here is not for the process of treatment, but to explain the absence of her condoling pen.

Locke does not just comment on Margaret's furnishings in this postscript, but also on her aspect. She only sees the horrible ornaments when she looks 'that way'. This is Margaret reflecting, a process that Locke had described in 1671 (in 'draft B') of his *Essay* as 'internall sense': when one's soul reflects on the operations of one's own mind and furnishes the understanding 'with another set of Ideas which could not be had, from things without'. 'Such are Thinkeing, believieng doubting loveing fearing, affirming, compareing', Locke had written in 1671.[21] Earlier on in this letter, Locke had also used an interesting image to describe Mapletoft, when he described the layering of bad news working on Mapletoft's mind like fuller's earth on a stain. Fuller's earth is clay with detergent qualities that was, in the seventeenth century, used to remove impurities

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[19] L.243.

[20] Locke, *Essay*, II.x.5 'And our minds represent to us those Tombs, to which we are approaching; where though the Brass and Marble remain, yet the Inscriptions are effaced by time, and the Imagery moulders away. *The Pictures drawn in our Mind, are laid in fading Colours*; and if not sometimes refreshed, vanish and disappear. How much the Constitution of our Bodies, and the make of our animal Sprits, are concerned in this; and whether the Temper of the Brain make this Marble, in others like Free-stone, and in others little better than Sand, I shall not enquire...'

[21] Locke, *Essay* draft B, §19, in John Locke, *Drafts for the* Essay *Concerning Human Understanding and other Philosophical Writings*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch and G. A. J. Rogers (Oxford, 1990), 129. By the time the tract hit the press he had modified that list to '*Perception, Thinking, Doubting, Believing, Reasoning, Knowing, Willing*', Locke, *Essay* II.i.4.

(lanolin and oils) from wool by textile manufacturers.[22] It also had bleaching properties, and lightens the skin. Locke hopes that one piece of news will blot another from his friend's mind. Picking up on industrial procedures, and the natural productions of his native Somerset, Locke imagined a different complexion for Mapletoft's grief than he did Margaret's. In this second image, Mapletoft's mind and capacity for grief seemed porous and fibrous.[23] Were Locke considered a poet and the *Essay* his masterpiece, these might seem like initial experiments with the images that would inform that later work, and from reading it we should notice that he was interested in the structure of experience, inner and outer.

This passage may tell us something about Margaret. We know that Mapletoft and Locke both knew her well, and that she may have been too sensitive to write to Mapletoft, her friend, on this occasion of grief. But this particular example tells us much more about Locke, and the extent to which he imaginatively and linguistically engaged with the interiority of his friends. Although Locke's description of Margaret's 'softness' could be read to tie in with contemporary ideas about cold, moist, malleable female souls and the effects of uterine tumult on the mind, considered contextually this is not a description, in a standard, clinical, medical sense, of Margaret Beavis.[24] It is a kind of poetic description in which Locke employed a thought experiment he enjoyed to better cope with shared grief.

ii. Elizabeth Wriothesley, Countess of Northumberland

Despite the fact that Locke and Elizabeth Northumberland shared some of the most vivid and interesting physical experiences in the extant Locke archive during the days that he spent at her bedside, previous critical approaches to Elizabeth have had little interest in the language of her case, or in the dynamic between Locke and Elizabeth, dwelling only on the nature of Elizabeth's disease and the diagnoses and treatments issued by

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[22] Fulling: 'The process of cleansing and thickening cloth by beating and washing', *OED*; Also several ordinances against transporting 'fullers-earth' published by the English Parliament in 1622, 1648 and 1656.

[23] I do not think there was a general gender divide in portrayals of the soul in grief. L.957, Tyrrell to Locke, 29 August 1687 (English), contains Tyrrell's reflections upon his wife's death: 'that callousnesss of soul you mention, if it be not naturall, is scarce attaineable, but by often fretting and gauling of it in its tenderest parts by the losse of those Friends and relations wee most value; which not being my case till now no wonder if I find my soul, too tender and unprovided to bear them; as I ought.'

[24] Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 42.

Locke and the other doctors consulted. Following Dewhurst, Glausser wrote that when Locke 'treated Lady Northumberland's neuralgia (a case of considerable importance to him), he strove to "harden and strengthen the nerves" of his "tender" aristocratic patient'.[25]

Dewhurst has been the main stylist of this case, as he published a whole article about the advice Locke solicited on Elizabeth from four physicians back in England titled 'A Symposium on Trigeminal Neuralgia; with Contributions by Locke, Sydenham, and Other Eminent Seventeenth Century Physicians'.[26] In his article, Dewhurst was not interested in presenting the moments in which Elizabeth was struggling through pain, but rather he was interested in presenting the calmer, more erudite moments in which eminent doctors discussed and diagnosed the nature of her ailment. A *symposium* by its definition was a site of wise talk and conviviality, offering a reassuring feel of measured, professional opinion and calm contemplation, whereas the scene at Elizabeth's bedside, when only Locke was present, was completely the opposite. Caught in a live moment of pain, Elizabeth and Locke struggled urgently to communicate.

Dewhurst also subtly coloured Elizabeth's character, writing in *Physician and Philosopher* that 'Locke and Mapletoft had previously accompanied this young, and exceedingly attractive, widow on a short tour of France, undertaken, it was said, to protect her person from the King's carnal designs.'[27] Outrageously, Dewhurst headed his 'Symposium' article with an epigram from Molière's *L'Amour Médicin*, a satirical singing and dancing illness farce about a young woman who wants to get married, and whose suitor masquerades as a physician.[28] Dewhurst alludes to and quotes from the second act of Molière's drama, in which the four satirised physicians give their conflicting opinions on the patient, yet the romantic origin of the quotation, twinned with ideas of Elizabeth's

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[25] Glausser, *Locke and Blake*, 50.
[26] Dewhurst, 'A Symposium on Trigeminal Neuralgia', 105-106.
[27] Dewhurst, *Physician and Philosopher*, 58
[28] Dewhurst, 'A Symposium on Trigeminal Neuralgia', 21-36. The quotation Dewhurst uses is spoken by Lysetta: 'What will you do, sir, with four physicians? Is not one enough to kill any one body? (Act 2, sc.1). In his *Locke's Travels in France*, published before Dewhurst's article, John Lough had revealed that whilst Elizabeth took ill, Molière's play was playing at the Hôtel Guénégaud theatre in Paris, *Locke's Travels in France*, 183. The play was first written and perfomed in 1665, David Bradby and Andrew Calder, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Molière* (Cambridge and New York, 2006), xviii.

excessive attractiveness, sets a certain tone on the essay that I consider unhelpful.[29] Dewhurst seems to have been thinking about Locke's gallantry and temptation and the academic view of Elizabeth's disease. He seems capable only of imagining Elizabeth herself like the beautiful Lely painting of her, rather than as someone in shrieking, burning pain.[30] Dewhurst seems able only to imagine her as an object: an object of medical inquiry, and an object of male affections. By encouraging his readers to imagine Elizabeth's physical self under the carnal designs of the king, or as a comedy stage-beauty, he occludes their ability to view her physical self as it is explained in the medical encounter proper.

It has already been mentioned above that John Mapletoft had been employed as tutor to the young Joceline Percy, eleventh earl of Northumberland, a young man who became very rich when his father, Algernon, died in 1668.[31] After Joceline died, Elizabeth had, in 1673, married Ralph Montagu, and when Charles II re-appointed Ralph as ambassador-extraordinary to the court of Louis XVI in 1676, Elizabeth went to France with him.[32] Montagu had been appointed English ambassador-extraordinary to Louis XIV's court before, in January 1669, and it was then that he had first encountered Joceline and Elizabeth, as he helped the couple, who were then visiting the country, to regain some Spanish horses that had been confiscated by French customs officials.[33]

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29 Clinical neurologist Mervyn J. Eadie delivered a speech in 1996 to two Physicians' Meetings in American hospitals entitled 'The Countess of Northumberland's Toothache'. In his talk, Eadie asked 'how certain is the diagnosis of *tic douloureux* in the Countess?' He then provides short biographies on the patient (Elizabeth) and the physician (Locke). The section on Elizabeth goes into the details of her husband's promiscuity, to summarise that 'Today, clinicians are reluctant to diagnose idiopathic *tic douloureux* in persons in whom the disease has commenced before the age of 50 years [...] However, this was not the case in earlier times'. Eadie wonders 'Possibly the natural history of the disorder has altered over the years [...] Nonetheless, the onset of *tic douloureux* at the age of 31 is worrying diagnostically, especially in someone who had a possible source of major psychological stress at the same time.' He ends the Locke biography with a return to the 'great genius' approach of Withington and Osler: 'For almost two decades prior to 1690 he [Locke] worked quietly and privately on a project which culminated in the appearance of one of the most influential documents in all the history of philosophy, the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Surely a man gifted with such great genius would have been competent to provide a faithful and critical account of his patient's illness!' The talk is printed in Eadie, *Wanderings in a Borderland* (Perth, 2000), 172-176.

30 Sir Peter Lely, 'Elizabeth Wriothesley, Countess of Northumberland (1646-90)' in The Royal Collection, Accession no. 404962.

31 George A. Drake, 'Algernon Percy, (1602-1668)', *ODNB*.

32 Edward Charles Metzger, 'Ralph Montagu, (1638-1709)', *ODNB*.

33 Edward Charles Metzger, *Ralph, First Duke of Montagu 1638-1709* (Lewiston, NY, 1987), 99.

At the point when Locke treated Elizabeth, in November and December 1677, Montagu was involved in a desperate battle of letters, in which he was trying to promote himself to Charles for the role of secretary of state but was continually being thwarted by the Earl of Danby. Montagu was writing several letters a day while Elizabeth was ill, and he would be in England meeting with the king around the first of January 1678.[34] Having been in France for two years, Locke had travelled to Paris in 1677 whilst working as the tutor to a youth called Caleb Banks. During his time in France Locke had participated in philosophical circles, and met many physicians, botanists, and thinkers, keeping abreast of current medical debate and invention. Yet it seems to have been through familiarity, and his longstanding links with the Northumberland household, that Elizabeth demanded Locke's attention at her bedside at her surrogate home at 'l'Hostel de Turenne' that winter.[35] Locke himself was living at the house of the Academy member Moyse Charas in Saint Germain.[36]

On the night of 22 November 1677, Margaret Blomer, previously Mrs Beavis, whose soft soul Locke had earlier described to Mapletoft, wrote to alert Locke to Elizabeth's condition. Margaret's note described how Elizabeth required Locke's urgent assistance, and directed him to travel immediately across the Seine to her bedside, via the apothecary's shop:

> My Lady sends you now her coach and desires you would come in it, and bring with you the best blistring plaister you can thinke on for a violent rume in her teeth which put her to very greate torment, and shee is not willing To try any more french experiments having found them all ineffectual. her Ladyship will have the better oppinion of the plaisters if you see them made which you may

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[34] See for example BL Hodgkin MS 38849, 4, fol.327. Essentially, while Locke was treating his wife, Montagu was managing a vigorous campaign of self-promotion, in the thick of negotiations between Louis and Charles regarding England's position in the war between France and the Netherlands.

[35] L.363, Mapletoft to Locke 3 December 1677 is addressed Locke at this address. For a general survey of Locke's time in France via Locke's notes see *Locke's Travels in France*. For Locke's involvement with French scientists Alice Stroup, *A Company of Scientists: Botany, Patronage, and Community at the Seventeenth-Century Parisian Royal Academy of Sciences* (Berkeley and London, 1990). For French science at this time in general see Roger Hahn, *The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution: The Paris Academy of Sciences, (1666-1803)* (Berkeley, 1971).

[36] Charas was an expert in poisons, antidotes, opium and vipers, *Locke's Travels in France*, 151n. Stroup, *A Company of Scientists*, 20-21: 'Charas had enjoyed a distinguished medical career in England, Holland, and Spain; he lectured on chemistry and published popular works on chemical techniques and pharmaceutics. Like Homberg, he was a Protestant whose appointment to the Academy followed his conversion to Catholicism.'

> doe, haveing the Coach at your dispose to wait at the apothecarys til you have don.[37]

From this initial note, and the fact that Elizabeth had sent her coach, we get a sense of her agony and urgency, and her mistrust of the French – both their apothecary shops and their 'experiments'.[38]

Locke, who would remain on site at Elizabeth's lodgings for several weeks, recorded the encounter in his own journal, starting from the night when he was summoned in the coach described in the letter above.[39] When Locke arrived at the house, he found Elizabeth in excruciating pain. As has been explained in the previous chapters, Locke considered observation at the bedside paramount in treatment, and the partially invisible, sensory nature of Elizabeth's ailment meant that in this instance it was even more crucial than usual that Elizabeth participated in that process. Delving into the language of the case proper it is apparent that most of the 'observations' in it came from Elizabeth's sensations or her knowledge of her own history.[40] Relating the events from the moment that Margaret Blomer had summoned him, Locke wrote:

> About 6 or 7 a clock I was cald to my Lady Ambassadrice whom I found crying out in one of her fits I had not stayd long but after a litle intervall ~~th~~ an other began wherein she gave many shreeks at ~~every~~ every shreeke her mouth being drawn towards the right eare & when the fit was over she told me that the pain shot it self all at once like a flash of fire all over that side of her cheeke up to her eare into her tooth & that side of her tongue into w^{ch} she complained there was immediatly when the paine came as if it were ~~flashes~~ scalding liquor thrown.[41]

Locke watched Elizabeth shrieking and contorting in pain, noting that her mouth veered towards her right ear. In one interval between fits, she informed him that the pain felt like a 'flash of fire' striking through her tooth and her ear. The right-hand side of her tongue was also afflicted by the fit, and felt as though it had had scalding liquor thrown

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[37] L.359, Mrs Margaret Blomer to Locke, 22 November 1677 (English).
[38] In both the cases of Margaret Beavis, above, and Elizbeth Northumberland we see an English-French comparison in terms of illness and treatment, with Locke writing about Mrs Beavis's 'French melancholy or English malady' and Elizabeth here rejecting more 'French experiments'.
[39] Locke MS f.2, pp.370-388. Locke kept his journal using Gregorian dating, so his entries are labelled at ten days later than the English date-scheme I am using for the narrative of this thesis.
[40] Compare Porter & Porter, *Patient's Progress*, 190: 'the legacy of Locke formulated an empiricist psychology privileging experience, and accepting that reality had to be measured through the sense organs, and thereby enregistered as pleasures and pains.'
[41] Locke MS f.2, pp.370-371, 2 December [=22 November 1677]. There are marginal tags by this paragraph: 'Countesse of Northumberlands case' and 'Dentium dolor cum convulsionibus'.

on it. The Countess could only talk in the intervals between fits, and during the fits language broke down to basic noises.[42] It is here, at the other end of the spectrum from eminent physicians' considered pronouncements that we first encounter Elizabeth and her case.

In his journal, Locke wrote about Elizabeth's tongue which was, on the right-hand side, 'in those fits convulsed. the contracting whereof she tooke for swelling, it indeed making it thicker but as soone as her violent paine ceasd it returned to its naturall state.'[43] What Locke is saying here is that Elizabeth's tongue tightened up and thickened in a kind of temporary spasm, which she – not able to view her own mouth – imagined, whilst it was happening, to be swelling. Locke and Elizabeth *out of the fits* discussed what seemed to happen to Elizabeth *in the fits*, and then, when the next fit took hold, Locke must have surveyed the areas that Elizabeth had described. By watching Elizabeth's mouth, Locke rectified Elizabeth's wrong apprehension about her tongue. Working in this way, Locke and Elizabeth watched and worked out the signs or symptoms of the disease as it appeared in her body.

Locke wrote that Elizabeth often had a pain in her tooth when the fits subsided,

> but when the fits came there was noe one place in all those parts it seised on where a my lady could feele it began only she had a presention of the comeing of a fit by a throbing she felt in her lower jaw where a tooth had been drawn in the like fits the last summer & a throbing like wise in the upper jaw just over ag^{t} it.[44]

The pair were trying to locate the place in Elizabeth's body where her fits were generated. Though Elizabeth felt a residual pain in her tooth in the intervals between fits, she could not tell where they began, though she had noticed a throbbing in her jaw around the area of the removed tooth. It is only after this initial description of the visual scene and its acute details that Locke moves into larger-scope case history:

> These violent fits had began wednesday morning & continued till now & were preceded by 3 or 4 days ordinary toothach in w^{ch} my Lady findeing a drynesse in

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[42] 'Physical pain does not simply resist language but actively destroys it, bringing about an immediate reversion to a state anterior to language, to the sounds and cries a human being makes before language is learned.' Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain* (Oxford, 1985), 4.
[43] Locke MS f.2, p.371, 2 December [=22 November 1677].
[44] Locke MS f.2, pp.371-372, 2 December [=22 November 1677]. Marginal note: 'Convulsio'.

> her lips apprehended these violent of fits to follow it being a symptom she had observd to attend them when she was tormented thus the last summer.[45]

It is Elizabeth who pieces together the long-aspect history of her pains, via the dryness she finds on her lips and her toothache, which were symptoms that she recognised from a previous outburst.

Catching Elizabeth in one of the lulls between her fits, Locke observed that 'There was noe swelling or ~~xxx~~ inflammation any where to be observed. noe flux of rhume noe thing that appeard outwards'.[46] Things that *appeared outwards* in moments of pain were useful sites of communication and understanding between physicians and patients. Swellings, inflammations and fluxes of rhume were measurable phenomena that the physician could at least touch and see, thereby gaining some first-hand sensory knowledge of the motions of the disease. Elizabeth's fits, though bewildering, were observable, though when they subsided there was no visible sign of disorder.

Locke's inability to measure and experience the ailment made him decide upon the regimen of physic that he would try.[47] He wrote 'I found noe indication for bleeding', and

> It being night I thought as present there was noe thing to be donne but to give her present ease if I could by some topicall applications. it not ~~being~~ ^seeming^ reasonable to me to apply a blystering plaister (w^{ch} by the ~~order~~ note that summond me I was desired to bring with me. & she had a minde to trie) before I had made some generall evacuation. I therefor desolvd about ¾ gr of Laudan: in some black chery water & mixing a litle sp*irit* CC wth it applyd it with lint to those parts of the gums where she felt the most pain out of her fits. This gave her soe

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[45] Locke MS f.2, p.372, 2 December [=22 November 1677].

[46] Locke MS f.2, p.372, 2 December [=22 November 1677].

[47] *Nothing that appeared outward* was a facet of illness that Locke found interesting. The year before Elizabeth's illness, in 1676, he had recorded the following note on hysteria gleaned from the demonstrator of plants at the botanic garden in Montpellier, Pierre Magnol: 'Hysteria. Thurs. July. 9. Dr Magnol told me that he had once a hysteric patient who could beforehand foretell when she would have a fit by something she did describe, but the fits were very admirable. First she would have a convulsive motion of her thumb, then was added to it that of her forefinger, then that of her midle finger, that of the ring finger, then all the fingers, then the joynt of the hand, the wrist, then of the elbow and then of the whole arm.' Although this entry is tagged as 'hysteria' the interest of it is clearly the question of inward and outward visibility. The patient was able to tell that the fit was imminent by something she sensed (and which was not visible), yet the fits themselves were 'admirable'; able to be viewed. And it is this same effect that the Locke case notes attribute to Elizabeth, writing that she had a 'presention' of the fit by the throbbing in her lip before the larger movements of the fit set in. See Locke's journal entry on 9 July 1676, translated from shorthand in Dewhurst, *Physician and Philosopher*, 69-70.

> much ease that she cald for more of them & applyd them to other parts of her gums where she found paine.[48]

Locke devised the remedy, overruling Elizabeth's initial call for a plaster, but she remained alert during the process, calling for more soothing laudanum swabs. After this she went to sleep, 'but not without violent fits'.

The next morning, the fits still occurred, and, judging the weather too cold for a purge, Locke decided to try a direct application of turpentine, or *terebinth*, mixture to Elizabeth's gums. As Locke reasoned this through, he commented on the nervous origin of the disease, which he does not seem to attribute to feminine inherent nervousness but rather to specific nerves around the tooth. He wrote that *aetherum terebinth* was:

> very agreeable to the nerves in w^{ch} alone the whole disease seemd to lie & to proceed from some litle nerve ^about the place of the tooth drawn^ w^{ch} either an impostume or some sharp humur might offend[49]

When Glausser writes about Locke trying to strengthen the nerves of his tender aristocratic patient, and Dewhurst evokes four physicians diagnosing a problem with the nerves, it is easy to imagine Elizabeth suffering from a kind of general constitutional weakness, yet Locke clearly here locates the disease to proceed from a particular nerve in the place where Elizabeth's tooth was removed the previous summer. He made this judgement following his conversations with Elizabeth about the origin and location of her pain, shown above. Unluckily, the *terebinth* he applied 'exasperated the fits' so he was driven to purge Elizabeth anyway, and, the next day, applied a blistering plaster, which subdued the fits temporarily.[50]

On 26 November there was another serious outbreak of fits. The pair returned to their original arrangement of Elizabeth describing her pains, and Locke noticing what he could from the outside.

> This day about one in the afternoon she had all of a suddaine a very violent fit without any visible cause she complaining ag^{n}: of the scalding liquor in her tongue & a hot burning in her eare. ~~after this she had several others~~ I observed all along that whether it were in the time when her fits were great or litle talkeing

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[48] Locke MS f.2, p.373, 2 December [=22 November 1677].
[49] Locke MS f.2, p.374, 3 December [=23 November 1677] This passage is in parentheses.
[50] Locke MS f.2, p.376, 4 December [=24 November 1677]: 'A blistring plaister put on, about noone'.

> was apt to bring them, sometimes touching her teeth also of that side presently gave~~xx~~ her twitches & fits, & in a litle while after she could touch them freely ~~whith~~ without the least accident, so uncertain was it. When ~~they~~ touching of them gave her pain they seemed as she sd to stand in a quagmire. Opening also her mouth to take any thing & the motion of eating ~~& touching the nervous parts of her face~~ were apt to put her into fits ~~them~~ & so was touching ~~the xxxx~~ any parts of that side her face where any nerves passed when she had the violent fits[51]

Elizabeth endured the fits and then expressed her feelings, of hot liquor on her tongue again, a burning in her ear, and described her nervously reactive teeth as standing 'in a quagmire' (*viz.* a quaking bog, which gives way under foot). Meanwhile, Locke 'observed' whether talking brought on the fits, whether it hurt when Elizabeth touched her right-hand teeth and that side of her face, and whether opening her mouth gave her fits. Working together – Locke encouraging Elizabeth into several physical experiments – they tried once more to trace the behaviour of the ailment. Again Locke asked Elizabeth to describe the location of the pain she felt in her fits:

> This is also to be observd, that though in her fits her pains often extended some farther than others & changed place so as wholy to quit those w^{ch} before they had tormented yet she told me that she never had a fit where in she had not had paine in the place of y^{e} lower jaw where the drawn tooth stood & the fore part of the same on that side neare about where the lip was set on to the gum where also in the inside of her lip she used to have a throbing going before the fit w^{ch} seemd to me who have felt it a litle at the begining of a convulsive ^motion^ for the pulse of it rose very high & strong & soe those two parts lead the dance to the others in their disorderly motions and pullings.[52]

Here Locke says what we had already seen him learn from Elizabeth's previous fits: that although the pain changed shape and moved location, it always afflicted the place where the pulled tooth had been, and the inside of her lip adjacent to that place. The throbbing that Locke writes of here has already been mentioned above, but it seems that now Locke has put his hands actually inside Elizabeth's mouth at the start of one of her fits, to literally apprehend the motion of the convulsive tremors. From putting his finger on Elizabeth's lip, Locke deduced that area to be the trigger, and he describes it as leading 'the dance to the others in their disorderly motions and pullings'. Later on in London the physicians that Locke consulted would try to analyse the disease more formally, but this was the original site of observation, with Locke and Elizabeth triangulating the pains, sketching them out into words and sequences.

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[51] Locke MS f.2, p.378, 6 December [=26 November 1677].
[52] Locke MS f.2, p.379. 6 December [=26 November 1677].

From these experiments, Locke again deduces, more confidently now, that the problem was caused by damage to the nerves surrounding the tooth that was withdrawn the previous summer, and he expands on his previous beliefs with a theory of how the pain is ignited:

> the mischiefe lies in some harme that is donne to the nerve in y^e^ place where the drawn tooth stood. & soe when the irritation is not great enough to draw into consent the parts of that branch w^ch^ are nearer to the root yet y^e^ least disorder that affects it & makes it straine ever so litle draws into consent that part of the branch that lyes beyond it (w^ch^ perhaps is weakend too by some stress it might receive in the drawing of that tooth) & soe makes a painfull convulsion in that part just where it terminates.[53]

The wrong parts of the nerve are coming into contact, causing the facial spasms.

Elizabeth's recorded sensations, and the way that she twice complains of scalding liquor, fire and a quagmire seemed relevant enough to Locke for him to preserve them in this form and retain them when he sent the case back to physicians in England. When Locke wrote back to England for advice on this case, he did so by writing a letter to John Mapletoft, the same physician whom Locke had condoled over Josceline's, Elizabeth's dead ex-husband's, death. On 24 November Locke opened his letter to Mapletoft by writing that 'I never had a more unwelcome occasion of writing to you than now, believing I can scarce send you more unacceptable news than that of a person whom not only you and I, but all the world have soe just reason to esteeme and admire'.[54] Locke reworked the events of the first few days of Elizabeth's sickness from his own notes, emphasising the severe nature of Elizabeth's pain, making it clear where he had interspersed his own observations and where he was reproducing Elizabeth's:

> On Thursday night last I was sent for to my Lady Ambassadrice, whom I found in a fit of such violent and exquisite torment, that (though she be, as you know, a person of extraordinary temper, and I have seen her even in the course of this distemper endure very great pain with a patience that seemd to feele noe thing) it forced her to such cries and shrieks as you would expect from one upon the rack, to which I believe her's was an equal torment, which extended itself all over the right side of her face and mouth. When the fit came there was, *to use my Lady's own expression of it*, as it were a flash of fire all of a suddaine shot into all those

[53] Locke MS f.2, pp.379-380. Marginal tag: 'Convulsio'.
[54] L.360, Locke to Mapletoft, 24 November 1677 (English).

> parts [...] it was *one of her greatest complaints* that there was a scalding liquor in her fits shot into that half of her tongue."[55]

The comment Locke inserts in parentheses shows that he wishes to confirm that Elizabeth's torment was not affected swooning but real, excruciating pain. The opening of Locke's report is an audio-visual assault, as Locke starts by evoking the scene and sounds of someone being tortured on the rack and then moves in to the image of Elizabeth's face in burning contortions. Before sending details of medication that had been tried, or his analysis of the cause of the disease, Locke projects Elizabeth's experience into the letter.

The extent to which Locke was loyal to Elizabeth's terminology is evidenced by his relation of her word 'liquor', which was a vague word at the time, carrying multiple significations. Elizabeth apparently uses the term 'liquor' to mean liquid in general, perhaps a drink or the kind of hot liquor used for brewing or cooking, but certainly a hot liquor external to her body that felt like it was 'thrown' on. Moyse Charas, whose house Locke stayed in, used it liberally in his *Royal Pharmacopoeea* of 1672 to mean 'liquid' as in any fluid, the liquids that could be extracted from plants or animals, and as a base for medical solutions.[56] Liquor was also used to describe a certain substance that moved through the nerves, for example in Thomas Willis's idea of the 'subtil spirits' which are distilled, as they are in wine-making, and flow through the body's nervous conduits.[57] In his *Essay* Locke used 'liquor' as an example of an imperfect word, obscure in its signification, evoking the memory of 'a Meeting of very learned and ingenious Physicians' who were discussing the term in relation to 'whether any Liquor passed through the Filaments of the Nerves' to do so.[58] In that scenario, Locke explains how instead of opining on the material question he intervened and told the party to establish what they meant by 'liquor' to start with, following which they realised they all had different complex ideas of it.[59] Yet for the sake of this case, that was to be written up and

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[55] L.360. My italics.
[56] Moyse Charas, *The Royal Rharmacopœa* (London, 1678), 48, 52.
[57] Willis, *Brutes*, 19: 'Excepting the Blood of Animals, there are no Liquors that grow hot, like Wines; there is found in none a greater plenty of Spirits, Salt, and Sulphur, or a more remarkable turgescency, or swelling up'.
[58] *Essay*, III.ix.16.
[59] 'I (who had been suspect, that the greatest part of Disputes were more about the signification of Words, than a real difference in the Conception of Things) desired, That before they went any farther on in this Dispute, they would first examine, and establish amongst them, what the Word

sent to absent practitioners in London for advice so that they could closely read it and prescribe from it, Elizabeth's understanding of 'liquor' is paramount, and so Locke preserves it in the context of her usage as much as possible, without paraphrasing. It is interesting to note that the case is not parsed into institutional language at the bedside, and that it is only when the considered responses come back from the physicians in London that we see a move to a different set of terminology. It is on the moment that the case *was* parsed into more professional terminology in the responses of the English physicians Locke consulted that most medical historians have focussed their interest.

In his letter to Mapletoft, it was only after rehearsing the case history using the observations he and Elizabeth made at her bedside that Locke added the conclusions he had drawn to the script:

> If I durst interpose my opinion in a case soe extraordinary as this, I should aske whether you did not think this to proceed from affections in the nerves in the place where the tooth was drawn, which draws all the rest into consent and convulsive motions on this side, and that perhaps some sharpness in her blood may contribute to it.[60]

Locke wrote further missives to Mapletoft over the two following days, revealing more of the case as he experienced it, inserting other relevant details not in the journal, for example that Lady Harvey, Ralph Montagu's sister, had told him that she had managed to predict the onset of Elizabeth's fits by noting the dryness of her sister-in-law's lips.[61] Mapletoft replied shortly afterwards with letters from the various doctors he had consulted: John Micklethwaite, Sir Charles Scarburgh, Edward Dickinson and Thomas Sydenham. Micklethwaite considered 'that the blood is not in fault, but some pungent vapor or serum or both that affects the nerves'; Scarburgh considered the problem to lie with 'the blood and nerval juices'; Dickinson agreed with Micklethwaite to say that the distemper was 'not of a Sanguineous, but Nerval kinde', stemming partly from a weakness of the facial nerves and partly from 'the pravity of the Nerval juice' caused by the 'dyscrasy of Liver and Spleen'.[62] Sydenham wrote that he thought the problem was

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Liquor stood for; which, I think too, none of the most perplexed names of Substances.' *Essay*, III.ix.16.

[60] L.360.

[61] L.361.

[62] L.363; Dr. John Mapletoft to Locke, with four enclosures from Dr J Micklethwaite, Sir Charles Scarburgh, Dr. E. Dickinson, and Dr. T. Sydenham (all English). A 'discrasy' means a disorder, or literally a bad temper or temperament, from dys + *krasia* = mixing, tempering. 'Pravity' comes

caused by 'a hystericall quality in the bloud discharging its selfe entirely upon that place and side, where occasion was given by the drawing of the tooth.'[63] Sydenham recommended a certain regimen, which Locke followed, and the Countess gradually improved. It is easy to see how, focusing only on these responses, a story about a medically nervous and hysterical woman could evolve.

As Dewhurst treated it, this case was written up from the perspective of the clinicians back in London. In *Physician and Philosopher* he did print the Countess's full case journal but never seemed to give any thought to the style of the encounter, in which Elizabeth and Locke worked together to map the source of the pain, using her language and his language, her senses and his. As we have seen, Dewhurst called Elizabeth's ailment 'trigeminal neuralgia', and Withington and Osler both called it 'tic douloureux', two terms that are now used interchangeably to describe a set of disease phenomena similar to those that plagued Elizabeth. Because of her links with these key terms, Elizabeth's case has appeared in recent medical literature as an early instance of phenomena still gripping sufferers today.[64] In this sense then, she has entered the natural historiography of this disease and in modern synoptic articles about the history of trigeminal neuralgia, her instance appears amongst other similar cases, her particular character rendered almost as irrelevant as that of Socrates or the simpleton in the Preface quoted at the top of this chapter.[65]

The ailment now called trigeminal neuralgia is thought to reside in the fifth set of cranial nerves (i.e. the trigeminal nerve) and does seem to have a seventeenth-century heritage in Willis's 'Description and Use of the Nerves'.[66] In that essay Willis describes the fifth pair

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from the Latin *pravitas* and means 'crookedness, distortion, perverseness, depravity', *OED*. 'Hysterical' denotes something from or relating to the womb.

[63] L.363.

[64] For example J.M.S. Pearce, 'John Locke and the Trigeminal Neuralgia of the Countess of Northumberland', *Journal of Neurology, Neurosurgery and Psychiatry*, 56:1 (1993), 45.

[65] For example Chad D. Cole, James K. Liu & Ronald L. Apfelbaum, 'Historical Perspectives on the Diagnosis and Treatment of Trigeminal Neuralgia', *Neurosurgery Focus*, 18:5 (2005), 1-10, 1: 'John Locke, a physician and well-known philosopher, provided the first full description of TN by a medical practitioner, along with an account of its treatment. In 1677, while in Paris, Locke was called in to evaluate the wife of the English ambassador, the Countess of Northumberland, who was suffering from excruciating pain in the face and lower jaw. Locke deliberated whether to prescribe "opening medicine" (laxative therapy), because of the wintry weather at the time. In spite of the cold and the inconvenience he would cause his patient, he eventually overcame his reluctance and thoroughly purged the Countess. Her pain improved several weeks later.'

[66] Thomas Willis, 'Five Treatises' (1681) in *Dr. Willis's Practice of Physick*. Maurice Victor and Allan H. Ropper, *Adams and Victor's Manual of Neurology*, 7th edition (London and New York, 2002), 439.

of nerves as concerning the 'Eyes, Nose, and Palate, and the rest of the parts of the Face', and writes that in some places they 'perform the offices of motion, in others sense'.

> Moreover from them shoots and branches are distributed into the Lips, Gums, roots of the Teeth, Jaws, Throat, and father end of the Palate, yea and the Tongue; for this reason chiefly, that the nerves going out of the lower branch of the fifth pair, might effect, besides sense, the divers offices of Taste and Touch or Feeling, and motions of a various kind in the aforesaid members and parts[67]

Willis's description at once provides the list of symptoms that would enable us to understand Elizabeth's disease in comparison with other instances of disease, and also provides us with a way of remembering the communicative challenge the ailment threw up in her specific instance, when her teeth, jaw, tongue and sense of touch were all affected.

iii. Isabella Duke

a) False conceptions

Isabella Duke was the sister of Walter Yonge, a politician friend of Locke's.[68] Yonge, Isabella and her husband Richard Duke, and Edward Clarke (for whom Locke wrote *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*) were a close circle, and Locke linked them geographically by nicknaming their estates, which were in a rough line through Devon and Somerset, 'The Row'.[69] In *Physician and Philosopher* Dewhurst explained that

> Sir Walter Yonge's family frequently called on Locke's services especially his sister Isabella Duke, and his sister-in-law Elizabeth Yonge, who were constantly bringing their complaints, real and imaginary, to his notice. Mrs Duke was another middle-aged neurotic woman.[70]

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[67] Willis, 'Five Treatises', 115-116.

[68] Mark Goldie informs that he was MP for Newport in Cornwall, 'moderately active for Anthony Ashley Cooper', Locke's leaky patron whom we heard about in chapter 1. He had some allegiance with James II, but in 1689 'was soon busy in parliament demanding redress against the agents of "popery and slavery", and sat on the committee for the Toleration Act.' Mark Goldie, 'Walter Yonge (1653-1631)', *ODNB*.

[69] 'Walter Yonge (1653-1631)', *ODNB*. Edward Clarke lived at Chipley near Taunton, Yonge lived at Escott, near Colyton, and the Dukes lived at Otterton.

[70] Kenneth Dewhurst, *Physician and Philosopher*, 298.

What did Dewhurst mean by 'real and imaginary' complaints? This vague description of Isabella as a neurotic middle-aged woman projects an image of her inventing sicknesses, and judging and projecting things imprecisely, which is particularly fascinating as it works to re-inscribe Isabella with characteristics that surrounded and encoded one of the complaints she appears to have suffered from. Locke recorded the following note, explaining and documenting Isabella's illness, in his journal for 1679:[71]

> Mola
> 65
> M^{rs} Duke of a phlegmatique & tender constitution oftentimes conceived but in the 10th weeke always miscaried of a false conception she had tried the aire & physitians of France. The waters & physitians of England ~~but~~ for many years but all in vain at last consulting D^{r} S: he ~~conceived~~ ^concluded^ these false conceptions to proceed from want of spirits & coldnesse in y^{e} habit & womb w^{ch} he thought were to be warmd & strengthend to w^{ch} purpose he gave her Coch ij M. of his grand cordiall w^{ch} she has now taken these many months & haveing since conceived is now in the 8th or 9 month of her being with childe. Elixir Alexipharmacum.[72]

The 'Dr. S' is probably doctor Sydenham, as Isabella refers to him later in her correspondence, and the word 'mola', which Locke uses to tag this entry signified a uterine mole, often in the seventeenth century referred to as a 'false conception', a term that Locke uses to describe the ailment in the second line.[73] Galen had reported that moles were fleshy masses that formed in the uterus following an aborted ovum, and because of their unusual, misshapen appearance, in the seventeenth century they were sometimes reported as monstrous births.[74]

In the classical tradition uterine moles had sometimes been considered 'monstrous products of the womb attributed to self-insemination' which had failed because of the weakness of the female seed.[75] In this tradition, moles had allegorical uses that emphasised and affirmed the strength and necessity of both the male seed and mind, as Helen King has shown with this quotation from Plutarch:

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[71] Dewhurst was aware of this note as he reproduced it in *Physician and Philosopher*, though he omitted to show the deletions in his edition of the note so it is transcribed afresh here from BL Add. MS 15642.
[72] Add. MS 15642, pp.165-6, in the entry for Monday 20 October.
[73] For theories of the uterus see Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 36.
[74] See Herman W. Roodenburg, 'The Maternal Imagination. The Fears of Pregnant Women in Seventeenth-Century Holland', *Journal of Social History*, 21:4 (1988), 701-716.
[75] Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 58.

> No woman can make a child without the part played by a man; the shapeless, fleshy masses formed in the womb as a result of corruption are called 'moles'. One must take precautions against such developments in women's minds also. For if they do not receive the seed[s] (*spermata*) of good doctrines and share with their husbands in intellectual advances, they, left to themselves, conceive many untoward ideas and low designs and emotions.[76]

Plutarch segued effortlessly from the womb to the mind. The message was clear: women could never inseminate themselves with foetal life, just as they could never inseminate themselves with good doctrines.

This sense that 'Mola's [sic] or false conceptions' could mean 'pusillanimous and untrue notions' as well as the literal uterine mole was still strong in the mid-seventeenth century, inscribing the physical predicament from which Isabella Duke suffered with a language of bad-knowing and ineffective impregnation with both reproductive semen and the seeds of thought.[77] In the seventeenth century, many physicians did concede that the mole was a product of both male and female seed, and it was more often understood in terms of an excess of female seed and an excess of menstrual blood that smothered the male seed, or the womb being too hot or too cold. Ambrose Paré described moles as a 'false conception of deformed flesh' and Helkiah Crooke described 'an idle flesh without forme and hard, engendred onely in the wombe of a woman'. Because of the mole's double-edged meaning, it was insinuated that these were also the shapes and textures of women's wrong thoughts: formless and rigid.[78] Some texts used the word 'Mooncalfe' interchangeably with 'mole', a term recognisable from Shakespeare as applied to lunatic

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[76] Helen King, *Midwifery, Obstetrics and the Rise of Gynaecology: The Uses of a Sixteenth Century Compendium* (Aldershot, 2007), 62. C.f. Gaius Pliny the Second, *The Elder Pliny on the Human Animal*, ed. Mary Beagon (Oxford, 2005), 72.

[77] These quotations are from Noah Biggs, *Mataeotechnia Medicinae Praxeos* (London, 1651), 222. Biggs uses these words to condemn a certain type of physic: 'That they must either cure or kill, and therefore desperate remedies: and with this face obtrude their pusillanimous and untrue notions and Mola's or false conceptions on the vulgar.' On the link between mental and physical 'conception' see Diane Purkiss, 'Reproducing the Voice, Consuming the Body' in Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman, ed., *Women, Writing, History, 1640-1740* (London, 1992), 139-158. Helen King explains that 'the etymology of mole, in Greek *mylê*, which is given in Soranos lying in the word for millstone, because the millstone is 'difficult to move, and because of its weight', and the mole or *mola* was often described as 'false' or 'counterfeit'. King, *Midwifery, Obstetrics and the Rise of Gynaecology*, 63.

[78] This idea of the aesthetic of female thoughts which compares interestingly with E. T. Withington, 'John Locke as a Medical Practitioner', 491, in which the author notes Locke's 'many-sidedness of mind'.

monsters.[79] Although some women were reported to carry moles for years, it sounds from Locke's note as though Isabella voided hers after ten weeks of pregnancy, and the note tells us that Sydenham concluded the cause was 'want of spirits & coldnesse in y^e habit & womb'. Looking back to that entry above you can see that Locke deleted the word 'conceived' in the instance that he had used it to mean 'perceived', swapping it for 'concluded', which seems to indicate that he was aware of the entanglement and possible contextual confusion of the two terms.

b) Seeking and making knowledge

Aside from Locke's record of Isabella's mole, a large number of letters written from her to Locke are extant and published in De Beer's edition of the *Correspondence*. Because Locke's letters to Isabella do not appear to be extant we must infer what he wrote from Isabella's responses, yet the one-sided correspondence does still offer us a window into Isabella's tone and manner of writing. She writes about an ongoing condition (which may be her reproductive difficulties, though she does not mention it specifically) and many other smaller illnesses and events that pass through her daily life. The letters show that Isabella was in the habit of making observations, both of herself and the world around her, and many of the letters show a desire to produce and acquire knowledge – be it knowledge of her own condition, her environment, or of physic recipes and the rationale behind certain methods of treatment. Isabella often writes about other women in her letters, in terms of what she perceives to be the vices of the female sex. At points it seems that Isabella is aware of how female sicknesses can get banded together, and she protests about the particularity of her ailment.

The Dukes and Yonges both visited Locke in the Netherlands, and the first time that we see Isabella write to Locke is from Spa, in the Spanish Netherlands, after her party had just left his presence. In her first letter sent at the start of July 1686, Isabella writes Locke an account of her journey 'in obedience of the obliging command' he laid on her to do so. Whilst it is easy to gloss over her narrative as small talk, it is important to note that

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[79] Jacques Guillemeau thought that mola occurs 'when the mans seed is weake, barren, imperfect, or in little quantitie; and for the most part choked through the abundance of the menstruous bloode', and some commentators attributed the overpowering aspects of female productions to lasciviousness. All these examples from Maurizio Calbi, *Approximate Bodies* (London, 2005), 60-62. There is a whole chapter on the 'Mole or Moon Calf' in Sharp, *The Midwives Book*, 106-116.

the account is mainly evaluative, as she describes the various types of transport she has used and analyses their relative comfort and convenience:

She writes that 'though the Utrecht Chariots made us all weary enough, and is without the worst Carriage in the World, yet I was much better at the end of the Journey, then when I sate out in the morning'.[80] After being 'wretchedly lodged the first Night' in Eindhoven they were raised up at 'two a Clock' in the morning only to have to stop two hours later as the Waggoner 'pretending to be sick stopt at noon two or three hours'. After staying at Maastricht, Isabella's party moved forwards in 'a Brabant Waggon', she tells Locke, 'which is a way of travelling that we are very well pleased with, and I believe you would have endured very well', 'but', she continues, 'when any cross accidents occurr'd we drank your health, and rejoyced that you were at your ease in Amsterdam [...] though we want your company extremely; this is the dullest place that I ever came into'.[81]

Having arrived at Spa, Isabella now set out about describing and evaluating the medicinal waters there. She relates that Mr Duke had begun his waters that day 'is much pleased with them; and confident of good success', but that she, 'having only tasted them [...] had neither time, or opportunity of informing my self concerning them.' Isabella makes a comparison with the English waters (which the 'Mola' note shows she had tried) to illustrate her setting to Locke, describing her location as 'a poor Village that lyes at the foot of 2. or 3. great hills that surround it somewhat like Bath, but 'tis a little contemptible place that bears no proportion to it.'

A week or so later, Isabella wrote again, to thank Locke for a letter he had sent from Amsterdam, 'which came very seasonably to relieve me.'[82] The letter continues 'for I was then in a very ill humour, which could not have been cured by a remedy less extraordinary', she explains: 'we have such Violent and Perpetual Rains, that we are beaten off from use of the Waters, and lose our time here'. Continuing her comparison with English waters, Isabella writes: 'I once reach'd eight Glasses, and several days seven, but I do not yet find that keen Appetite, which Tunbridge Waters use to give me, neither do they pass so well, but I believe all would be well if we had dry hot Weather'. Having made sure that Locke is furnished with the setting and her progress in it, she uses the

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[80] L.854; I. Duke and Walter Yonge to Locke, 9 July 1686 (English).
[81] L.854.
[82] L.855; I. Duke and R. Duke to Locke, 19 July 1686 (English).

next letter, written again from Spa, to project him further into the scenario, beginning 'Your Obliging letter of the 6th of August came to my hands this morning, whilest I were in Bed, drinking my Waters'.[83] She flatters Locke about the skill with which he composes his letters, imbuing them with a therapeutic quality: 'the pleasure I took in reading my own, and also that which you address'd to Mr Duke made my Waters go down, and digest admirably well, and with better success this day then ever'.

Having compared the town and the water to English equivalents, Isabella goes on to an evaluation of the fountains themselves:

> Here are many fountains in, and about this place, but three are most frequented. That in the middle of the Town with which I began, and which seems to have most of the Mineral; and two others about two Miles distant, amongst the rocks. On[e] is called the Savoniere and is used by all those that drink Waters for the Stone and Gravel, or any diseases of the liver, and seems to be a lighter water then the fountain in the Town, otherwise the same in all respects; and I should chuse it but that the way to it is extreamly bad, and we have no conveniency but a cart to carry us, so that it is next to impossible to get at it[84]

Isabella also notes that this fountain, the Sauvenière, has 'no conveniency either for men or women, both must creep amongst the bushes and Briers on all occasions, so that 'tis impossible to escape being wet in the feet, and having a dirty Tayle, be the petticoats short of the Ancles which is the mode of this Country'. The second fountain, the 'Geronster', has equally undignified facilities, so, Isabella writes, she and her party 'all hitherto keep to the fountain in the Town'. Yet she prevaricates; the Geronster is 'so much magnified above the rest for all diseases of the Stomach and bowels, that I am last persuaded to make trial of it; this is the second day'. She continues to give Locke an account of the Geronster's water, embedded in an account of her reaction to it:

> it seems to warm and fortify the Stomach, I have eaten at another rate these two days then ever before since I came hither. This water of the Geronster tastes of the Steel as the rest, but has withal a strong smell and tast like Gun powder,

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[83] L.857, I. Duke, W.Yonge and E. Yonge to Locke, 31 July 1686 (English). The date Isabella quotes is given in Gregorian style and so is ten days ahead of the date scheme used in this thesis.
[84] In Spa the Pouhon spring is in the centre of the town and the Geronster and the Sauvenière are in the woods. Allart van Everdingen's paintings of the three springs in approx 1650 offer one view. These paintings are in the University of Liège's collection and the accession numbers for the latter two fountains are 29535 and 29115, Galerie Wittert, University of Liège Collection, http://www.wittert.ulg.ac.be [last accessed July 09].

> which is supposed to be from Sulphur which is mingled in that fountain with the other minerals.

Isabella uses her body to test the water, and to send report. The record she gives here of her initial encounter with the three fountains at Spa may seem thorough for a letter, but she informs Locke that it is only an informal prelude to several other accounts she intends to provide, and she writes 'I hope to give you a better account of my self in a little time, for the perpetual rains have made my drinking Waters hitherto very uncertain, and very irregular.' Likewise, Isabella intends to furnish Locke with a more precise account of the waters: 'our glasses hold about 8 ounces and I have taken 5.6.7.6. or 9. as the Weather would permit, but you shall not fail to get a Critical account of the Waters of all sorts, as soon as we can get Gauls.'[85] 'Gauls' or gall-nuts are a reagent, used in the seventeenth century to test the mineral properties of spa waters, particularly the presence of iron. Robert Boyle, Locke's friend, had written about them in his *Short Memoirs for the Natural Experimental History of Mineral Water.*[86]

Isabella writes that she and her party have sent to Liège for these chemical supplies, and a few weeks later, in August 1686 a letter came through from Richard Duke, who reported 'trialls of the severall fountains here, as you desired, with galls as also with leaves of Oak and Thea, and the rind of Pomgranate'. He echoed Isabella's findings about the Gun-like smell of the Geronster:

> in which all the water of the Pohon (which is in the market place, and of which we drink mostly) had the deepest tincture, and was thickish and curdled, that of the Savvenier (which is about half a league to the Eastward of the Town) was a bright violet colour, and very clear, and that of the Gironster (which is about two English mile to the Southwards of the town) of a purple reddish color, and clear. It warms more than the other waters, and has a sulphureous tast which they have not, and smells like the washing out of a Gun.[87]

Richard wrote that he had been talking to an apothecary about the export of the waters, and had seen some medicinal pills created from the spas that he wanted to show to Locke.

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[85] L.857.

[86] Tony E. Edmonds, 'An Indicator of its Time: Two Millennia of the Iron—Gall-Nut Test', *The Analyst*, 123 (1998), 2909-2914.

[87] L.859, R. Duke to Locke, 10 August 1686 (English).

Isabella wrote again, a few days later announcing that the party intended to move to Liège, and then on to Aix-la-Chapelle.[88] In the knowledge that her husband had sent through an account of the gall-nut experiments (which she had perhaps hoped to provide), Isabella still claims a role in the process, and projects Locke's eager interest:

> Mr Duke has lately given you an account what tryals we have made with Tea, Gauls etc if you desire a fuller, excuse me till I see you, and then I will tell you at large what I have further observed, and answer as well as I am able all your curious questions[89]

She writes that, on the way back to Utrecht, her 'Masters have resolved to pass by Nimmegue and Cleve, and some other Towns with hard Names; so that 'tis possible it may be yet three Weeks before we reach you'.

On 29 September, Isabella wrote again, from Otterton this time. She was back at home in Devon, and after a narration of her journey, she lamented leaving Locke – whom she had seen in the interim – behind: 'I every day regret my consenting to come away with out you, which I should never have don had not my fears for your health made me afraid to press you to accompany us'. The opportunity to furnish Locke with information about the Spas in Holland and her journey across the land had ended, but Isabella retained an interest in her environment, health and surroundings. In the more quotidian setting of 'the Row', Isabella trained her observing eye on her own body and other people's bodies, health, and physic.

She requested medical advice from Locke, informing him that 'the breaking out which I complain'd of when I parted from you is not yet over, but I think it Withers [...] but I apprehend it may have a hardness in the skin when the heat and itching is gone, pray advise me what I ought to do in such a case.'[90] She tells him: 'I am afraid to venture on purging physick haveing lately suffered so much in the Gripes, a long Violent loosness, which is but newly checked'. Her questions show a good knowledge of physic, as she does not ask Locke's general advice but requests that he comments on particular remedies: 'pray let me know what you think of Daphee's Elixir either for me or my Girle as there may be occasion, and whither you do not think that Rhubarb alone is better for

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[88] L.860, I. Duke to Locke, 14 August 1686 (English).
[89] L.860.
[90] L.867, I. Duke to Locke, 29 September 1686 (English).

both of us'. Isabella observes her own child, and wishes that she knew how to manage her health. Her frustration is palpable:

> I find the child pretty well, but extreamly lean; and shedding her Teeth, which were pritty enough, but now they come yellow and ragged, and uneven; which troubles me a little, but I know not how to help her.[91]

By the next time Isabella wrote, in October, she had settled into the constitution of England, and she explained to Locke that she had no desire to return to the Netherlands because 'the Air, and the drink of England agrees very well with me, and has already restored me to as good a condition of health as I enjoyed when I first came into Holland to you.'[92] Isabella continued to ask Locke for advice on her 'breaking out', but she also put in another request, for instruction in how to practice physic herself:

> Pray let your next teach me how to Cure Agues with the Jesuits Bark; if it can be done by a recipe. And be pleas'd to be very particular as to Quartans, and Tertians, and Quotidiens, either in Children, or Elder people, abundance of my Friends and Neighbours now suffer in them, and if there be a certain remedy, I would be glad to be able to give them that relief.[93]

In the tradition of other gentlewomen like Hannah Woolley, Isabella wanted to practice locally.[94]

In November Richard Duke wrote to Locke to echo Isabella's sentiments about their absent physician, and about their better compatibility with the English climate: 'Twas no small trouble to me to leave you on the other side of the water before I could have the benefit of your prescriptions'. He continues, 'I can onely now acquaint you that I find

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[91] L.867.
[92] L.873, I. Duke to Locke, 21 October 1686 (English).
[93] L.873.
[94] Hannah Woolley was one such gentlewoman practitioner. Woolley was married to the master of a grammar school in Essex, and in her *Supplement to the Queen-Like Closet* (London, 1653), she writes 'When I was Married to Mr. *Woolley*, we lived together at *Newport Pond* in *Essex* near *Saffron Walden* seven years; my Husband having been Master of that Free-School fourteen years before; we having many Boarders my skill was often exercised amongst them, for oftentimes they got mishaps when they were playing, and oftentimes fell into distempers; as Agues, Feavours, Meazles, Small-pox, Consumptions, and many other Diseases; in all which, unless they were desperately ill, their Parents trusted me without the help of any Physician or Chirurgeon: likewise the Neighbours in eight or ten miles round came to me for Cure', 12. John Considine, 'Hannah Woolley (1622-1674)', *ODNB*.

this air to agree with me much better then that of the low countries.'[95] Isabella wrote again that December. She had not heard from Locke, and lamented the loss of a letter he had sent 'concerning Agues', which Yonge had said was mentioned in a letter that he had received, but which Isabella says 'never came to my hands'. 'I despair of it,' she comments, 'and esteem it an irreparable loss', *it* being another nugget of practical physic she hoped to add to her compendium, rather than specific medical advice to her as a patient.

Locke continued to disappoint: in January Isabella wrote again – Locke had not contacted her since October. She tried desperately to contact him, writing 'I have already Tryed by way of Mr Furly, and by Mr Howes Bookseller at Utrecht, I will send this without any Superscription to London, and let my brother Mr Clark give it a more fortunate one', Isabella retorts, 'perhaps they know where you are Transplanted, I hope 'tis into England'.[96] 'I want you extreamly' Isabella continued, 'for though I have had my health tollerably well ever since my return from Holland, yet my particular complaint I fear grows worse every day, and I have no hopes of retrieving that misfortune but by your care, and Skill'.[97] On 29 January, Isabella wrote again, happily, to say that she had received a new missive from Locke.[98] She again lamented a lost packet, but it appears that Locke had sent her another packet, full of remedies, or recipes of remedies, which related to her plans to practice locally:

> Your Neesing Pouder would be of great use here, in our dull corner of the Country, where 'tis very difficult to keep ones self awake, I hope your store is not exhausted [...] for your Pills to purge Choler, I have no present occasion; Your Specifick to Cure Agues shall be used both Judiciously and Charitably;[99]

Isabella says that she will wait until she sees Locke again before she begins to 'Practice', adding 'and I will try no more experiments on my self, till I have your Antidotes, to secure me from the ill consequences of them'.[100]

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[95] L.876, R. Duke and W. Yonge to Locke, 10 November 1686 (English).
[96] L.898, I. Duke to Locke, 19 January 1687 (English).
[97] L.898.
[98] L.903, I. Duke to Locke, 29 January 1687 (English).
[99] L.903.
[100] L.903.

She continued, asking for other information from Locke: 'I have learnt the Hebrew words Salemlec and Hephzibah, but I find they are no Charm, and I fear will do me no good, if you do not in your next explain the History of the Rabbi, and give me a larger account of his interventions'.[101] Isabella had been reading the Old Testament, and seemingly trying to find out about the history of its transmission. She could have been asking about Moses Maimonides, also known as Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon, whose *Mishneh Torah* was well known by Locke and his friends.[102]

Isabella writes to Locke of wishing for a 'Chain in my hand that could draw you to me'; 'I would hold you no faster, no longer than you were willing'. This is how she visualises the relationship she wishes for between herself and Locke, and, if he comes to Devon, she continues, 'perhaps when you return, you may draw the whole Rowe after You. And by that time the Weather may be better setled in the Country where you now are, which at present appears to me very Cloudy and uncertain'.[103] But Locke did not pick up his end of the chain, and on 14 March 1687 Isabella wrote from Otterton that his silence was 'most unsufferable', 'I know not how to unriddle it', 'and I cannot doubt their comming safe to your hands, since I enclosed them to my Brother, who sent them with the same directions, which have carried all his and all mr Freke's to you'.[104] 'Have you no consideration left either for the Health of my body, or the Ease of my mind, that you thus abandon me', Isabella asks Locke, requesting notice of when she might see him again, threatening him with the deteriorating health of both herself and her husband. From Escott, on 'the Row', Isabella writes 'a nearer conversation with you being what I want, and what I Covet above all things [...] were I as much Master of my self as you are, I would not thus languish for want of it'.

c) Other women and missed reading opportunities

If Locke is not forthcoming with his medical attention, Isabella writes, 'I shall be in danger of ruining my self, by putting my self into the hands of some Quack Doctress (to which I was earnestly prest, when I was last in Town.)' Isabella considers female practitioners inferior, and blackmails Locke with the knowledge that she will have to see

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[101] L.903.
[102] See Chapter Two of this thesis.
[103] L.903.
[104] L.918, I. Duke to Locke, 14 March 1687 (English).

the Quack Doctress if Locke does not attend to her: 'for I will never apply myself to any of your sex, if you do not help me.' Mr Duke, it is hinted, also falters: 'I am sure neither of us grow any better'.[105] Isabella must have been openly indignant or dismayed, as her brother penned a letter to Locke saying that she was 'reduced to that low ebb by waiting so long in vain'.[106]

Perhaps Yonge's veiled plea worked, because on 7 May Isabella wrote again, having received two letters from Locke, which did not quite set her at ease.[107] Locke's letters not extant, Isabella does give some clues as to what he said: 'Yours of the 7th of Aprill tels me you are a Wanderer, and must not be depended on for a Phisitian', to which she replies 'is it impossible to prevail with you for once to wander this Way'? Isabella announced that she intended to go to London again 'before the end of this month', with her husband, for their health, accompanied by Yonge. Her husband 'must trust some phisitian or other', Duke writes, 'and I must try what the Woman I mention'd can do for me, if you do not take pitty upon us'.[108] 'I am not without all the suspitions, distrust, and fears imaginable what will be the consequences of it,' Isabella confesses, 'for Heavens sake my Friend, do not keep me longer in suspence, but if you have any thoughts of comming over, tell me so plainly in your next'.[109] She paints the possibility of visiting a female practitioner as a last resort, and as an action with potentially terrible results. After signing off she adds a note imploring Locke to 'send, or rather to bring me the Antidote against drugs that skilfull Ladies destroy their healths withall. And your other secrets, my Recipe Book will be of no Vallue without them'.[110] The skilful Lady is in this instance Isabella herself, and, though she takes a playful self-deprecatory tone, she is still trying to get information from Locke to add to her recipe book, and these letters give the sense that she seeks to intellectually possess information about physic, as well as simply securing the attention of a wise advisor.

Isabella's letters continue in the same kind, and rarely include information other than chastisements for Locke's absence and news of her health. Her next letter, of 23 June

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105 L.918.
106 L.925, W. Yonge to Locke, 29 March 1687 (English).
107 L.933, I. Duke and W. Yonge to Locke, 7 May 1687 (English).
108 L.933. The date in Isabella's quotation is probaby given in Gregorian terms also, as Locke would have dated his letter from the Netherlands.
109 L.933.
110 L.933.

1687, is similar, featuring a long passage on how she still values Locke's friendship, followed by news of what has passed in London, from where she writes.

> I came to Town in very good health, but 'tis already a little impar'd by the physick my Doctress has given me, but she promises me fair, and I think I must go on, and try a little longer; whiles my Master is under the care of Doctor Syddenham; assoon as they will dismiss us, we shall away to Tunbridge Waters; which I hope set me right again in all respects.[111]

The Doctress has actually diminished Isabella's health with physic, but Isabella presumably endured it in the hope of improving her ongoing ailment. Yonge wrote from Tunbridge on 11 July to explain that the Dukes sent their 'particular Respects', that Isabella 'is in daily hope of a letter' from him, and that 'they have just begun their course of water-drinking'.[112] Isabella was still in Tunbridge on 10 August 'where', she wrote, 'tis my greatest business, and greatest pleasure, to drink your Health; in Water every morning, and at noon in Wine; better Wine then either of your Widdows can give you'.[113] The 'Widdows' were conjured here as characters that Isabella competed with for Locke's attention, and they perhaps represented his real landladies in Holland. Isabella wrote: 'I am afraid of your Widdows [...] and Dutch Women too, of whom I alwayes stood in awe, though I had no way offended them; me thought they look'd as if they could eat me up'.

Thinking again of the imaginary tug-of-war that might transfer Locke to England she writes 'I passionatly wish that your Widdows had less power over you, or that I had more; for I can never be so easie, or so happy as you wish me, till I get you over into England.'[114] She writes that she 'shall be perpetually Teasing' him 'to come away', because 'to be under the government of Women, Widdows; Dutch Widdows, two at once, is too hard service for any man, any English man'. She ends by telling Locke to 'never believe them' because 'few of the sex are sincere; 'tis the only good quality that I have to vallue my self upon'.[115] Rather than commenting on any of the circles of philosophers or political circumstances that kept Locke in Holland, Isabella instead sets herself up in a female rivalry, telling Locke that she is uniquely sincere for her kind. Isabella feels no

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111 L.940, I. Duke to Locke, 23 June 1687 (English).
112 L.944, W. Yonge to Locke, 11 July 1687 (English).
113 L.953, I. Duke to Locke, 10 August 1687 (English).
114 L.953.
115 L.953.

sisterhood with the Quack Doctress, though she herself aims to learn physic, nor the widows, though she imagines them to join her in wanting Locke's company.

At the foot of this rhetorical letter about the widows, Isabella has written a postscript of a wholly different feel, relating the story of her recent drinking of the waters in the same observational tone she had used to describe the fountains at Spa, back in the Spanish Netherlands:

> I drink Waters in a very moderate quantity, five, or seven Glasses at most, yet they waste me more then ever, and methinks do not make me so hungry, or in any respect agree so well with me as formerly; when I needed them more. But Mr Duke thinks that he is much the better for them or his phisick; and is encouraged to drink them on all this Month; I am not sick on some occasions, as I have been of late years, yet I have no reason to think my Doctress has done me any good; but I shall have one conferrence with her more before I go to Devonshire, and I hope I shall not be prevailed on to take any phisick of her, since that never failes to disorder me, more or less.[116]

In October 1687 Isabella picked up on rumours about Locke returning to England ('the carrying of your Portmanto to the brill'), but he never came.[117] Writing again on 17 December Isabella began 'I was extreamly glad of Yours of the 29th of nov: but the ill Newes it brought me of your want of Health was a terrible allay of my Satisfaction'.[118] Sending her best wishes, Isabella added: 'I hope you will as soon shake off all those other troublesome Symptoms which have incommoded you; and with so much obstinacy afflicted, and diseased you.'[119] She seems, by this juncture, to have an idea of Locke as an important figure, and calls him 'a person that is a publick blessing, in whose safety all mankind are concern'd'. In this same letter Isabella goes on to describe her reading and studies:

> I read Seneca every day, and have run through Monsr l'Abbadées Treatise of the Verity of the Christian Religion much to my satisfaction; and I heartily Thank you for sending them to my Brother. I have been little conversant in some part of physick too; and do long to discourse some points with you, but I cannot do it by letter[120]

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116 L.953.
117 L.968, I. Duke to Locke, 3 October 1687 (English).
118 L.987, I. Duke to Locke, 17 December 1687 (English). Again, Isabella may quote this date from the Gregorian calendar.
119 L.987.
120 L.987.

The letter reveals that Isabella was reading Jacques Abbadie's *Traite de la Verité de la Religion Chrétienne*, which had been published in the Netherlands in 1684. The work looked back to the start of the Christian religion through an examination of the New Testament, particularly the epistles of St. Paul.[121] Locke had sent a copy to Yonge, and it is not specified whether he sent it for Yonge or simply via Yonge for Isabella. Isabella humourously paints Holland as unhealthy, writing 'the list of diseases which you sent me, are certainly entayled on all that dwell in Holland, and do not drink Brandy. Therefore there is no mean, you must learn to do that, or leave the country'.[122]

But Isabella was unable to write her next letter, and Yonge explained in a post-script to Freke's letter of 29 December.[123] Isabella had been taking care of her daughter, who was suffering from smallpox and was being treated by Dr. Sydenham. Yet she must have prompted her brother to write for 'this nursing has been so full an employment for my Sister, that she hopes you will allow that excuse for her not writing to you hitherto'.[124] When she next wrote, on 21 January, Isabella wrote about the 'very sad story' of her health, raising again the spectre of the Quack Doctress, writing that she will never tell her story to anyone 'of your sex I was going to say, I think of either sex; not that the woman has prejudiced me any way, but by her tatling, which is a vice so common to our sex, that I cannot be surprized at it, though I hate it, and suffer by it.'[125] Isabella does not mean that she suffers from it herself, but *by* it: the Quack Doctress offends and wrongs her with gossiping.

She continues: 'tis true that the number of my infirmities increase, both of body, and mind; you only are capable of being physitian to both, come and try your skill'. Isabella's intentions are not only for Locke to come and administer physic, though, and she writes 'your presence will certainly cure the greatest disease of my mind, which languishes for want of it, your Art may be as successful on the body too, but that's the least concern'. Her programme of reading has continued, and Locke is told 'Cicero's Traittée de la Viellesse has reconciled me to all sorts of decayes, and infirmity's, and taught me to be

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121 I consulted Jacques Abbadie, *A Vindication of the Truth of Christian Religion* (London, 1694) but the original, which Isabella must have had, was *Traite de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne* (Rotterdam and London, 1684).
122 L.987.
123 L.990, J. Freke to Locke, 29 December 1687 (English).
124 L.990.
125 L.997, I. Duke to Locke, 21 January 1688 (English).

contented and Thankfull in every condition.'[126] She generously ends with the news that 'Mr Clark, and Mr Stringer [...] with their ladys, are newly come to Town, and in good health'.

Isabella next wrote from London, in a spare hour, the day before a family wedding, explaining 'the good Company think the time stollen from them, which I employ in writing this'.[127] Locke must have returned a jocular letter to hers that mentioned Cicero, as she continues 'I abundantly deserve your raillery', yet his letter seems to have contained some serious critique of her practise too, as Isabella includes the following self-deprecatory passage, in which she apparently rescinds on her attempts to read or learn physic:

> your advice against my reading and tampering with physick seems to be of the same Stamp, since you know I read very little of any thing, and that only for my own entertainment, being the most useless thing that ever read, or knew any thing; thus you call my faults to remembrance; as you do my infirmities of Body, by enquiring after my health; that part of your letter I take to be serious, and therefore shall answer it as fully as is convenient in this paper.[128]

She mentions her 'faults' and claims to be 'the most useless thing that ever read, or knew any thing', writing that she will continue to answer Locke's simple question about her health. However, in doing so, Isabella showcases yet another round of reading, using medical terminology to describe the self-diagnosis she has arrived at. In this letter, penned in a stolen hour that should have been spent on wedding preparation, she writes that the use of the Tunbridge water 'secures both to my Master and my self a very competent measure of Health', and that it does so by 'sweetning and invigorating the blood', and 'delivering us from those complaints commonly called Vapours of the Spleen'.[129]

Isabella confidently continues to say 'all that I have learnt since I saw you either from Books, or discourse, is a right state of my Case, which I am certain is no more than a partial descent of that part, which lyes most commonly in an Oblique position.' It is therefore, she describes, 'rendred uncapable of answering the end for which nature

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126 L.997.
127 L.1018, I. Duke to Locke, 23 February 1688 (English).
128 L.1018.
129 L.1018.

design'd it'. She is talking about her uterus or womb, and thinks that 'perhaps there is no possibility of setting it right', yet she has had many propositions of treatment; 'several Women would undertake it, but I dare not trust them, I am afraid of their phisick, and their Methods, and will never submit to any, but what you have examin'd and approved.'[130] Isabella signs off by wishing for a 'personal conversation' with Locke, writing that 'there can be no more said in a letter, but that I advance a great pace towards forty'.

In early March 1688 Locke wrote to Edward Clarke. He was circulating the *Abregé* of his *Essay*, and told Clarke that one of the copies should be passed to Isabella, but that Yonge could share it until Locke dispatched him his own copy, and Clarke replied saying that he had indeed 'plac'd it in Sir Walter's hands to bee conveyed to Mrs. Duke.'[131] Yet in May, Isabella had still not received the book. She explained that the *Abregé* had come in to her hands 'above a Month since', but that Yonge had 'kept the book till now, not being willing to let so great a treasure go out of his possesion, till he had well acquainted himself with it, and made his best improvement of it.'[132] Isabella still waited to start the *Abregé*, but she 'had read Seneca's Moralls three or four times over, this Winter'.[133] Isabella again laments Locke's absence from his 'Native Country', writing that 'tis my despair of it that puts me into a Mellancholly humour whenever I am writing to you, and not the thoughts of forty which is an Age I have long wish'd to arrive at, as the best time of ones life'.[134] In a postscript to the above letter, Yonge confessed to Locke that he had not even read the *Abregé*, but his sex and his greater prominence in the public realm leant him a habit of entitlement that meant Isabella had to wait to see the volume.

Isabella's medical learning and her thirst for knowledge pertaining to health and physic grew. She had compared cases and filleted 'vulgar' opinion from learned opinion. On 30 June she wrote to Locke from Otterton with a 'Materiall Question' that she had forgotten to ask previously: 'to witt whither you think that the use of the Bathe may be a propper and effectual remedy, for the disorder I have so long lain under'.[135] Isabella continues 'I know 'tis Vulgarly esteem'd a great strengthener of all those parts, and many

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130 L.1018.
131 L.1030, Edward Clarke to Locke, 16 March 1688 (English).
132 L.1052, I. Duke and W. Yonge to Locke, 12 and 16 May 1688 (English).
133 L.1052.
134 L.1052.
135 L.1061, I. Duke to Locke, 30 June 1688 (English).

Women have found great Benefit by it; but my Case is particular'. In requesting Locke's advice ('I beg instructions which Bath to use, and for how many dayes, and whither any other remedies must be used together with it, as assistants'), she also asks him 'with your Opinion give me Your reasons for it', not because of disbelief in his methods, but 'for my better instruction, which you have promised to contribute to, on all occasions'.[136] She signs off and then includes the postscript: 'I remember once you told me a present remedy is a Lance should happen to prick an Artery in Bloodletting; I have quite forgotten it, pray repeat it in your next."[137]

Did Dewhurst consider the information on sicknesses and cures that Isabella requested from Locke to add to her recipe book to be part of her middle-aged neurotic proclivity for imagining complaints? In her descriptions of wagons, spas and her own body, Isabella always endeavoured to be thorough, scholarly and 'critical'.[138] She *tried* to read widely, an enterprise that the proximity of her brother seems to have both hindered and enabled, because he perhaps attracted books to the house, yet had the right to dominate and reserve them when they arrived. Isabella notices that she is not 'Master' of herself as the men in her life are masters of themselves, and the control that the men have over her movements can be seen from the way the 'Masters' design their route through 'Nimmegue and Cleve, and some other Towns with hard Names'. She is aware of how much more power men have over the circulation of written matter than she does, as she repeatedly gives the letters she wishes to send to Locke to Clarke and Yonge to address for her. She senses their ability to get their post delivered and answered.

By the fact that Isabella was considering Rabbinical interventions and we know that she was thinking about the history of religion and Scripture, subjects that preoccupied many of Locke's other acquaintances at this time. Isabella seems to attribute inherent vices to

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[136] L.1061.

[137] L.1061.

[138] Porter & Porter's passage in *Patient's Progress*, 77, about Elizabeth Yonge's letter to Locke compares well with what I have written about Isabella Duke: 'When Elizabeth Yonge found a walnut-sized tumour in her left cheek, she was sufficiently perturbed to appeal to John Locke for advice, while adding, soothingly, "I am willing to flatter my self its nothing of that nature [scrofula], our Family having never been subject to it". She was obviously proud of her own medical understanding, yet in this particular case, she told Locke, "a little causeous how I tamper with it for fear of the worst, therefore beg you to give me your opinion in it at your first leasure, wither a dissolving plaister will be proper, or inward medicins." Clearly Elizabeth Yonge did not believe her sex debarred her from expressing medical opinions; indeed it was she, not Locke, who recited the alternative therapies.'

the female sex, and reads the widows and the Quack Doctress as types rather than individuals; types against which she repeatedly strives to emphasise her own individuality and difference, morally and bodily. '[M]any Women have found great Benefit' from the Bath waters, Isabella had written, 'but my Case is particular'. Her encounter with the Quack Doctress prompts her to label the woman's 'tatling' as a vice common amongst the female sex, and the widows prompt her to remark that 'few of the sex are sincere', yet she constantly objects that she is different. Isabella's ideas about female tattling and insincerity are not ideas she had coined anew, and, like the ideas she has about the homogeneity of other women's cures and complaints, they may have been absorbed from the world around her, in which, as the medical lore surrounding Isabella's uterine mole shows, they were present.

There is nothing – except contemporaneity, Locke's friendship, and their sex – to indicate much common ground between Isabella Duke, Margaret Beavis, and Elizabeth Northumberland's lives and predicaments, and even less similarity between the scenarios passed down in history through which we can learn about them. Mrs Beavis was captured in a vignette of grief, being described by Locke in a way that she herself may never have recognised. Elizabeth Northumberland was recorded in Locke's journal contorting in fits, whilst Isabella Duke's connection to Locke is preserved in the format of that *Mola* journal entry and all of her letters. Yet looking at these three women from the perspective of the learned practitioners of their day, as Glausser (following Dewhurst) was shown to have done at the start of this chapter, or from the perspective of contemporary natural histories of disease, they can seem to blur into parity. The communicative dynamics and diverse contexts of their encounters with Locke get lost as they are made to appear like more information that he collected to add to his repository of science. Part of my purpose of disentangling their stories is to rehabilitate them in their own rights, and to show the muffling effects of history told from the perspective of professional medicine. Yet there is a third reason pertaining specifically to Locke studies for showing this material. As I have pointed out in the footnotes and main text of this chapter, Locke was inspired by the texture of personal experiences, and seemed to touch on examples from personal experience in his work much more so than academic knowledge of diseases. Sliding the perspective back to the experiential end of Margaret, Elizabeth and Isabella's events we see Locke in a different set of scenarios to the clear-cut consultations and *symposia* that some medical historians seem to have imagined.

This should remind us that philosophy can breed in all places, and that inspiration from medicine could just as well come from the live scene of a neighbour with a straightforward ague as from the *virtuosi* in the experimental laboratory. It was presumably the idea of communicating with women about their illnesses that led Locke to write one of the most compelling characters of his *Essay*.

iv. The 'Country Gentlewoman' of the *Essay*

In book IV of his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* Locke writes about the possibilities for human knowledge, and about how we manage and obtain it. Chapter xvii of this book is about reason, which Locke uses to mean 'a Faculty in Man, That Faculty, whereby Man is supposed to be distinguished from Beasts, and wherein it is evident he much surpasses them'. As part of his chapter on reason, Locke discusses syllogism, the logical form of argument containing two premises and a conclusion. Locke asks whether syllogism is the 'proper instrument' of reason, and decides that it is not. Syllogism's main function is to 'show the connexion of the Proofs [i.e. ideas] in any one instance'.[139] The reason syllogism does not enhance the workings of reason is because 'the Mind can perceive such Connexion where it really is, as easily, nay, perhaps, better without it.' In other words, syllogism is a cumbersome, artificial technology designed to fulfil a task that the mind can do automatically without it. Locke asks his readers to examine their own experiences: 'If we will observe the Actings of our own Minds, we shall find, that we reason best and clearest, when we only observe the connexion of the Proofs, without reducing our Thoughts to any Rule of Syllogism.'[140]

Locke reminds the reader that 'Men reason' in Asia and America without the use of syllogism, and nobody 'ever makes Syllogisms in reasoning with himself'.[141] Locke allows a few uses for syllogism, but continues to claim that it is not crucial to reason, because 'If

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[139] C.f. Locke, *Essay* IV.xvii.2 'For as Reason perceives the necessary, and indubitable connexion of all the *Ideas* or Proofs one to another, in each step of any Demonstration that produces Knowledge: so it likewise perceives the probable connexion of all the *Ideas* or Proofs one to another, in every step of a Discourse, to which it will think Assent due.' For another discussion of this chapter see Jonathan Barnes, 'Locke and the Syllogism' in Peter Anstey, ed., *John Locke: Critical Assessments of Leading Philosophers, Series II* (Abingdon and New York, 2006), 4 vols, vol.2, 297-326.

[140] Locke, *Essay*, IV.xvii.4.

[141] Locke, *Essay*, IV.xvii.4.

Syllogisms must be taken for the only proper instrument of reason and means of Knowledge, it will follow, that before *Aristotle* [who pioneered the form] there was not one Man that did or could know any thing by Reason', but, Locke continues, 'God has not been so sparing to Men to make them barely two-legged Creatures, and left it to *Aristotle* to make them Rational'.[142]

> God has been more bountiful to Mankind than so. He has given them a Mind that can reason without being instructed in Methods of Syllogizing: The Understanding is not taught to reason by these Rules; it has a native Faculty to perceive the Coherence, or Incoherence of its *Ideas*, and can range them right, without any such perplexing Repetitions.[143]

Locke's formula is very democratic; it allows anyone to reason. He writes that he does not mean to 'lessen *Aristotle*', who would not – Locke cleverly posits – have been able to invent and evaluate syllogisms in the first place without recourse to 'the original way of Knowledge, *i.e.* by the visible agreement of *Ideas*'.

In the midst of this argument about Aristotle and ideas, Locke provides an example of the type of reason he has been discussing, and a visual scene from a country estate bursts onto the text. It is a scene designed to seem obvious to his reader, and therefore to bring them to assent to his argument:

> Tell a Country Gentlewoman, that the Wind is South-West, and the weather louring, and like to rain, and she will easily understand, 'tis not safe for her to go abroad thin clad, in such a day, after a Fever: she clearly sees the probable Connexion of all these, *viz.* South-West-Wind, and Clouds, Rain, wetting, taking Cold, Relapse, and danger of Death, without tying them together in those artificial and cumbersome Fetters of several Syllogisms, that clog and hinder the Mind, which proceeds from the one part to the other quicker and clearer without them: and in the Probability which she easily perceives in Things thus in their native State, would be quite lost, if this Argument were managed learnedly, and proposed in Mode and Figure.[144]

This country gentlewoman is able to perceive the connection between wind, rain, fever, *etc.* 'in their native state' and also perceive the likely future repercussions (what Locke calls 'the probability') arising from them, without putting them through the artificial

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[142] Locke, *Essay*, IV.xvii.4.
[143] Locke, *Essay*, IV.xvii.4.
[144] Locke, *Essay*, IV.xvii.4.

mangle of propositions.[145] She is a very particular figure, this country gentlewoman, evocative of European estates and the cold southwesterly wind that brings showers from the Atlantic over that region, and of the temperamental sky that *lours* in those conditions. Country gentlewomen had an association with health and medicine, with figures like Hannah Woolley who practiced physic locally taking on that role we saw Isabella Duke trying to cultivate for herself of a healer in her village – but it is not specified that the woman from the syllogism argument is any such expert. She is just an ordinary woman; that is how the example works. The example is born from a communicative scene.[146] 'Tell a country gentlewoman' that the weather outside is stormy and she will respond with the thought processes described, which will stop her from falling ill again. This same communicative dynamic is apparent in the examples of Margaret Beavis, Elizabeth Northumberland, and Isabella Duke's cases, yet it disappears from view when these three women are portrayed solely from the supposed perspective of professional medicine.

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145 We should understand *native* to mean 'Left or remaining in an original state or condition; untouched by art; unadorned, simple, plain,' and the *OED* in fact uses this passage of Locke to illustrate this sense of the word.

146 Early modern philosophers did a lot of their thinking in communication with people around them, see for example Robert Boyle's 'Cosmical Suspicions' (1670), in Boyle, *Works*, ed. Michael Hunter and Edward B. Davis (London, 1999-2000), 14 vols, vol.6, 302-315; 309: After a discussion of William Wood's *New England's Prospect* (1634) and before Rochefort's *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Antilles* (1658) Boyle writes 'I know not whether it may be worth while to mention after these more weighty observations the Economicall Tradition of Huswives; which I should not think worth taking notice of in this place but that haveing purposely enquired after the truth of it, of two very sober persons (much versed in the Art of makeing Sweetmeats) that have, especially one of them, often tryed it, they seriouslly affirmed to me, that they find the Spots made in linnen by the juyces of Fruit, particularly of Red Currants in straining Baggs, will best wash out (nay scarce otherwise) at that time of the year when those fruits are ripe the ensuing year.'

Conclusion

We have seen how Matthew Slade made his way across the sea, leaving a trail of insanity and bodily discharge just as Locke was getting his books published; how Locke accounted for Ashley's bags and skins; how Henry Fletcher described the viscosity of his wife's blood; how Locke watched Elizabeth Northumberland contort with pain; how Isabella Duke endeavoured to self-diagnose her particular condition; and how many of Locke's so-called 'patients' were friends who would share much detail about their thoughts and bodies. The people appearing in this thesis – with their purulent discharges, their obstructed menses, their *gleet*, their death's heads, their flashes of fire, their dirty shirts and their self-reflections – were not only Locke's friends but also his readers.[1] They were a tactile, oozing bunch: certainly incarnate. They lived in the world that Locke wanted his published work to reflect and address. Each chapter in this thesis has centred on a nominal character, using close literary and cultural readings to access the mechanisms of certain interactions involving them, or their concerns, and Locke.

My methodology has shown how the social circumstances of each case determined the meaning of so-called clinical description, and determined the moral nature of organic matter. Take the example of 'purulent' matter and discharge, which may remain the same substance in a chemical sense, but which radically changes its social status each time it is used in the instances described in this study. In Lord Ashley's case journal, 'prurulent [sic] matter' was presumably used as a direct response to the viewed emissions from Ashley's opened orifice. In the documents that Locke appears to have sent to the French abbot de Briolay de Beaupreau, the mention of purulent matter, bags and skins is carefully advertised as specifically inelegant in keeping with the 'coarse' speech used by physicians, serving to affirm the professionalism of the writing. However, in the case of Slade, it is the notary's mention of 'a shirt soiled with some kind of purulent discharge' that Limborch fears will supply Slade's enemies with material with which to malign his memory. In this case, as Locke described it, the specific word used by the notary – the Latin *saniem* – was an 'ugly word' applied to 'ugly stains', and the men arranged for the report to be changed to indicate pure blood rather then a mixed liquid. Pus was culturally malleable, and it easily became the rotten civic juice inside Ashley's swollen Leviathan.

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[1] Lists of gifts copies of Locke's authored works are listed in Jean S. Yolton, *John Locke, A Descriptive Bibliography* (Bristol, 1998), 71-81; 212. Chapter Two gave an idea of how Locke's anonymous works circulated.

We have seen how language could begin to acquire scientific value. In the instance of Lord Ashley's abscess we saw various doctors and commentators use the size of various birds' eggs to indicate the size of various swellings. In the case of Carolina we saw the repetition of the words 'healthy', 'pleasant' and 'fruitful' to indicate the quality of life in the new plantations. In both of those instances, apparently vague terms came to have contemporary meaning when used repeatedly in description. In Elizabeth Northumberland's case we saw Locke repeating Elizabeth's expressions of flashes of fire and burning liquor to describe her symptoms to the doctors back in England, and that terminology has been used by critics to link Elizabeth into an ahistorical science of the symptoms of a disease called trigeminal neuralgia. If one consults the Trigeminal Neuralgia Association website's descriptions of 'Classic TN' and 'Atypical TN' the symptoms do at first glance sound like Elizabeth Northumberland's symptoms: 'Spasms of sharp, stabbing pain, often described as like a jolt of lightning'.[2] Yet closer perusal shows that the twentieth-century description does not agree with Elizabeth's seventeenth-century description so easily, as it describes 'sharp, electric shock-like pain', which would have almost certainly been unrecognisable to Elizabeth because the experimenters of her time were only just making their first steps towards an understanding of electricity as we now know it. As the commentator featured in Appendix 2 of this thesis suggests, even apparently casual terms appearing in past disease descriptions should be historicised.

We have also seen how the stomach was a site of discussion for Locke and his contemporaries, with Locke evoking it in his toleration argument as a place where a process analogous to religious belief and disbelief took place. The use or rejection of certain modes of religion was compared to the use or rejection of certain medicines, resulting in that shocking image of the intolerant prince forcing medicine into the protesting guts of his subjects. Locke seems to have perceived something honest about the stomach, and in the way that it approved and rejected things. Perhaps this was partly because Locke and his contemporaries shared news of their guts so freely. The Fletchers of Saltoun received news about the effects of various medicines on their acquaintances' stomachs thereby bypassing learned medical opinion, and the letters from Furly quoted

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[2] 'TN – the condition', Trigeminal Neuralgia Association UK, http://www.tna.org.uk/pages/condition.html [last accessed July 09]

in the introduction to this thesis supplied Locke with regular updates of his stools amidst other discourse. Yet the stomach was also fickle, as Locke's auto-experiment of regulating his stools in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* shows; in some senses it could be trained into new habits. It was the idea of the particular, personal constitution that ensured the stubbornness of the stomach in relation to medication. In his toleration argument Locke relied on the idea of a fixed constitution, untrainable by habit, which would turn certain remedies 'to poison'.

Much of Locke's therapeutic ethos involved communication with the patient's constitution, and many of the textual and literary formats he and his acquaintances used facilitated the achievement of this. Many of Locke's interactions are characterised by the regular, daily accounting of health and the detailed descriptions of bodily affect, often compiled by the sufferers themselves, coupled with a dearth of theoretical generalisation. Locke offered a highly personalised service to people such as Isabella Duke and Margaret Fletcher, endeavouring to tune in to the specifics of their predicaments and encouraging them to do the same. Almost all of Locke's advice to Margaret Fletcher urges her to listen to her body and commune with her constitution, and to not let its voice get drowned out by a crowd of commentators. Locke repeatedly mentions the health benefits of letting the body naturally synchronise with the temporality of 'nature', which is why he warns Margaret against 'hasty' and 'forcing' medicines and persons, who tamper with the correct timing of the constitution as informed by a larger force, in a sense mistuning the body from the master clock.

Locke and many of his contemporaries were acutely aware of intervention and perversion. In his writing about toleration Locke emphasised the need for each man to examine his own conscience and thereby to find his right path to salvation. In terms of Scripture, Locke's circle of scholars perceived a disabling layer of commentary and bad editing around the holy message. Locke introduced his commentary to Saint Paul's Epistles by explaining how even the on-page formatting of the Epistles distorted the meaning, tone and pace of Paul's utterance. We saw how Locke congratulated Andrew Fletcher on his investigations into the origins of priestcraft, the ceremonial and interpretative structures of authority that had grown up around the Church that distanced man from God. Many of the characters in Matthew Slade's environs endeavoured to reclaim distant history and the origins of faith, striving to find earlier and

less edited codices. In a sense, Locke's turn to direct communication with the body was part of this broader cultural paradigm. The useless meddling women that Locke imagines at Margaret Fletcher's bedside behave (in his imagination) in a way very similar to the allegorical 'old wives' who populated many contemporary discussions of spiritual error.[3] In the introduction I quoted Victor Nuovo who wrote that 'religion pervaded every aspect of human life' in Locke's era; I do think that the textuality of religion in the late seventeenth century informed the way that Locke and his contemporaries read the body.

As I researched this project it became apparent that many seventeenth-century people regularly shared news about their health, perhaps in the way that twenty-first century British people now use the weather as a catchall topic of conversation. Initially this suggested that health might have been a broad democratic arena in which thought experiments – like the one that Locke employed using the laxative *manna* in his *Essay* – could be undertaken by all. Yet it is important to remember that this project has only shown corporeal literacy indulged in by non-labouring persons. The feeling of stomachic griping that Locke described in his *manna* example may have been universal, but the facility to use it as a basis for philosophy was not. As we have seen, even Isabella Duke had problems getting hold of Locke's *Essay*; not everyone could 'readily agree' with Locke's apparently commonplace examples.[4] As we have seen from Locke's advice to Margaret Fletcher and his advice in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, Locke championed the intrinsic healthiness of a labouring lifestyle, considering working persons – particularly those working the land – to be disposed to salubrity. This was partly because the activity of labouring occupied their minds, drawing them away from clouds of worry, health-theory and poisonous wealthy physic to a better synchronicity with nature. When Locke wrote about healthy labouring people he evoked the figures of 'honest farmers and substantial yeomen'. These were figures that held private property and private health, but as example vi in Appendix 1 shows, men who were enslaved often had no more choice over their path of health than livestock did.

When Dewhurst discussed Locke's journal he wrote about all the information therein as material in Locke's collection. As mentioned in the footnotes to Chapter Two, Richard

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[3] See for example Samuel Ward, *The Wonders of the Load-Stone* (London, 1640), 30. Ward refers to II Thessalonians II in which God sends down a 'deceiving power' so that the people will believe 'lyes, old wives tales, and foolish dreams of Monks,' which become 'rooten Traditions [and] leaden Legends' until they fall, 'blind leading the blind [...] into the bottomlesse pit of errours'.
[4] Locke, *Essay*, II.viii.18.

Yeo has researched the way in which the commonplace book functioned as a sort of repository, and this works to support the view that Dewhurst took in particular reference to Locke's 'medical notes'. This view may need altering in respect to medical and health-related notes pertaining to friends and acquaintances. Ashley's notes were not stored in Locke's own journal (as he didn't start one until 1675), but Elizabeth Northumberland's notes were, along with the notes of numerous others treated by Locke. Locke and Sydenham considered journalising to be a part of providing good care to their patients. Keeping a journal of Elizabeth Northumberland's daily pains and progress for the purpose of treatment was very different to taking a record of someone else's patient for curiosity, or to noting the second-hand relation of unusual physical characteristics. Locke's journalising of his patients' progress was part of his care, and was often focussed outwards on the treatment and wellbeing of his patients rather than inwards towards his own Baconian project. As I suggested in a footnote in Chapter Four, I think it is most apt to consider these close observations of friends and acquaintances as accurate in the etymological sense of *accuratus* from *ad curare*, which means 'to care for'. This highlights their therapeutic function, a function that is apparent in the writing that Henry Fletcher produced for Locke regarding his wife's illness, which was so obviously part of the therapeutic process rather than something Locke was going to preserve and analyse for other reasons.

As I explained in the introduction, scholars have often used Locke's medical career to emphasise his scientific mind and interests, locating him on the cold and rational side of a 'two cultures' split. In fact, many medical or health-related scenarios, particularly those that concerned friends, family or members of the broader community came loaded with what disciples of the two cultures motif would call emotion. In 1660, when Locke was in his late twenties, he had written to his sickly father:

> I had began to arme myself against the evills of the world, but I find myself wounded in a place ungarded, and twill be but in vaine to endeavour to harden ones self, whilst Nature Virtue and Gratitude will keepe some places continually sensible, The news of the return of your malady, hath shaken all the constancy I have beene building; which I should not be able to bear up under did I not hope, that it is only such an annual revolution of your decease [i.e. disease], as the assistance of your Physitian could easily remove.[5]

[5] L.95, Locke to Locke Sr, 10 April 1660.

It is important to have a flexibility of mode when dealing with so-called medical scenarios. Both Dewhurst and Woolhouse mention Locke's father's death only in terms of the treatment he received from the physicians who were consulted.[6] The legacy of Withington and Osler's portrayals of Locke as 'the calm, practical, clear-minded lover of truth' and 'the apostle of common sense' seem to linger, making it much easier to imagine Locke as the physician in the above letter than the sensitive son. Locke is still considered to be a significant figure in the history of politics and philosophy, appearing on syllabi and in articles that thread through the culture of the UK and America, and medical historians have played a clear part in the crafting of Locke's enduring image. At the turn of the twentieth century Osler could report: 'For each one of us there is still a "touch divine" in the life and writings of John Locke'.[7] I hope that my thesis has contributed to the destruction of that sentiment, and has helped to depict Locke with his contemporaries in a historicised and human reality.

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[6] Woolhouse, *Locke*, 43-44; Dewhurst, *Physician and Philosopher*, 9-10.

[7] Osler, *Alabama Student*, 109.

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APPENDICES 1 - 3